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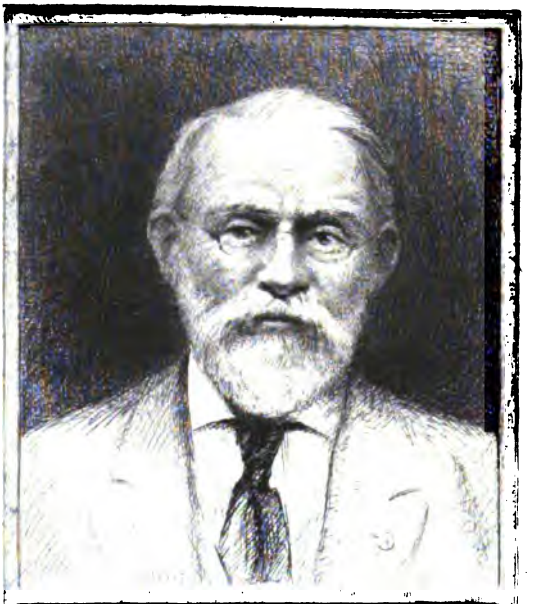

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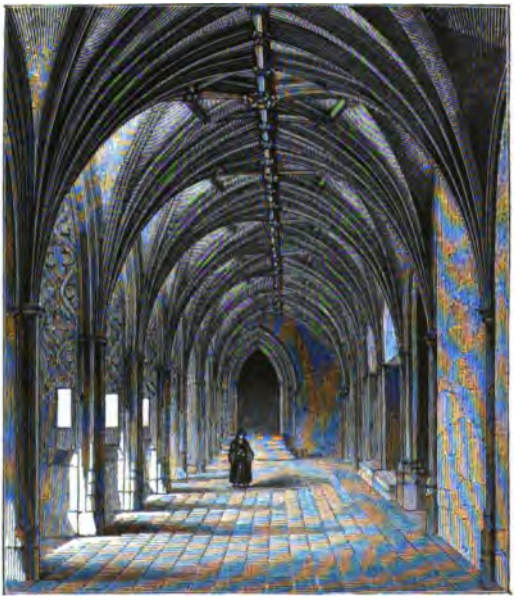


EAST CLOISTER, WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

THE

Monastery and Cathedral

OF

Worcester.

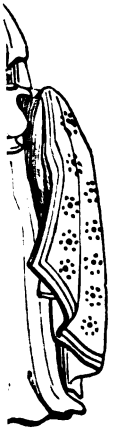
By JOHN NOAKE,

Author of "The Rambler in Worcestershire," &c., &c.

LONDON: LONGMAN & CO.
WORCESTER: J. NOAKE, HERALD OFFICE.
1866.—*Price* 10*s.* 6*d.*

BENEDICTINE MONK.

BENEDICTINE MONK.



MONK.

Introduction.

—o—

"THERE be some who slight and despise this sort of learning, and represent it to be a dry, barren, monkish study; but I dare assure any wise and sober man that historical antiquities do deserve and will reward the pains of any English student. I wish the excellent parts of many other writers were not spent upon more frivolous arguments, where by subtleties, and cavils, and controverting quibbles, they serve only to weaken Christianity, and (what otherwise were pardonable) to expose one another."—BISHOP KENNETT.

CLOISTERED seclusion has been the fruitful theme of many a fervent orator, and of pens dipped in gall. Be it mine rather to open the new and deeply interesting page of monastic life in Worcester with veneration, love, and above all things with a desire for truth. How often in years long gone by, while pacing the lonely cloisters of our venerable cathedral, have I endeavoured in imagination to refill the void with its former occupants — to note their appearance, dress, and employment — to enquire of these shadowy unrealities

their history, thoughts, hopes, and aspirations, and to restore for a few moments the gorgeous pomp and circumstance of a wondrous institution now gone for ever. Our wishes (Goëthe says) are presentiments of the capabilities which lie within us—the harbingers of that which we shall be in a condition to perform. And so at least one of my most fascinating day-dreams has been realised: I have made the Worcester monks now tell their own tale. The history written by their own hands, although scattered in registers, rolls, ledgers, and vast quantities of loose and dusty parchment, has been confided to me, and to the best of my judgment and ability it is herewith presented honestly and faithfully for the acceptance of the public.

We know but little yet of conventual life, our accounts hitherto having been derived from hostile or unduly partial writers; indeed the history of the monastic orders is still unwritten, and as my ancient friend, Sylvanus Urban, observes, no man has yet dared to grapple with this vast subject, the materials for which lie scattered here and there in chapter libraries and record rooms. A work of the kind was projected by Southey, but it was never executed; and the reader who studies the past at its source must arrange his facts as best he can around a thread of his own spinning. The publication of original documents is now a common practice

throughout the whole of Europe, and vastly enlarging the area of thought and research. Nash, Thomas, Dugdale, Burton, and others, have published many charters, and the Surtees Society has made an immense accumulation of minute facts and illustrations of monastic life at Durham, memorials of the abbey of St. Mary of Fountains, &c. Materials are therefore accumulating, and by and by we shall be enabled to found a general description of British monasticism on veritable data, gathered from an area sufficiently wide to warrant such an undertaking—a task to be performed without prejudice or misrepresentation; and then indeed will a chapter of surpassing interest be added to England's history.

Very few of our old religious foundations have bequeathed to posterity a greater store of documentary evidence than that of Worcester, and it is somewhat extraordinary that between three and four centuries were allowed to elapse without this mass of records having been turned to better account. True, that in the pages of Thomas, Nash, and others, a very fair sample of the original documents and records now reposing in the muniment rooms have been published, and their permanency thus rendered comparatively safe; yet these are sealed books to all but a very limited circle of learned readers, while no attempt has been made to weave

the materials so acquired into a narrative or historical form until the present undertaking. I am not insensible to the fact that the task might have been accomplished in much better fashion, and probably no small amount of additional information brought to light from the same sources to which I have had access, had the work been essayed by some one better acquainted with mediæval life and literature than myself. But I knew of no one qualified individual ready or willing to undertake the arduous research, or, if willing and capable, having at command the leisure indispensable for such a purpose; and it might have happened that many a generation would have passed, and many an interesting and valuable record perished, which has now been preserved by the printing press, had I not set aside all scruples and taken in hand a work which many will no doubt consider presumptuous in me to have attempted. Be it so. I have accomplished—it may be indifferently—what no one else seemed inclined to perform; and should any critic feel himself qualified for undertaking a more comprehensive and satisfactory treatise (including, I may suggest, the history of the see, which was too extensive for my present means and opportunities) I can have not the smallest objection to this work of mine being made the basis thereof.

Worcester monastery of Benedictines had a fluc-

tuating number of from forty to fifty monks, being equal in that respect to Durham, one of the most considerable of the old religious houses, and its importance was in some degree commensurate with the great extent of the see, over which the prior and convent exercised an episcopal jurisdiction (*sede vacante*) from Warwickshire down to Bristol. They were lords of extensive manors, in which they held courts and administered laws controlling and regulating the every-day existence of the tenants in a manner now scarcely conceivable—from the marriage of a daughter to the ringing of swines' snouts. Not only was the establishment well endowed but its importance was largely increased by the considerable number of subordinate houses and cells which owed it allegiance; and although the monastery could not claim that consideration paid to other establishments which derived their origin from a supernatural cause or even the personal agency of the Virgin herself, as at the neighbouring abbey of Evesham, yet the saintly odour of its patrons, Oswald and Wulstan, the miracles wrought by their bones, and the famous image of "the blessed Mary of Worcester," were ample capital to ensure the pecuniary welfare of any one religious house, however ambitious or however absorbent of means.

It is no part of my plan to construct an essay on

the monastic system as illustrated by the brotherhood of Worcester, yet it will be readily perceived that many errors and prejudices of modern writers are successfully combated by the facts of my history—facts, too, which admit of no questioning. For instance, it is a mistake to suppose that the monks were as a rule idle, or perpetually immured in their church or cloister as in a prison house, with the unvarying occupation of religious service. The human system, in its present imperfect condition, could not have endured the tension of a strain so great. On the contrary we find them engaged, here at Worcester, in handicraft and literature, in music and cookery, in horticulture and account keeping, in hospitality and charity, in travelling and amusement. In the following pages we shall see them plying the tailor's needle or flourishing the razor—cutting and stitching the "North-folk" cloth into the long black cloaks of their order, or shaping the tonsure around the glistening crowns of their brethren's heads. Peep into the kitchen and you will observe with what science Coquinarius and his satellites are preparing choice dishes for the guesten-hall—or into the infirmary, and behold how omnipotent are phlebotomy and purges; pass through the cloister and admire the penmanship of that young monk, seated at his little enclosed desk, or carrel, whose beautiful illuminations I have pre-

sented to the reader, and do not pass by unnoticed the pale, sage, and calculating countenance of Richard Scrivener, as he writes out some branch of the monastic accounts, or, from his rough notes, a fair copy of the prior's journal. See how Magister Capellæ is enriching the intellects of the novices in the Lady chapel! Follow the same boys into the music room and judge for yourselves if pains be not taken for their growth in the principles of divine harmony. Step out to the gardens overlooking the Severn and tell me if you have ever seen, anywhere in the city, trimmer plots of cabbage, more aromatic herbs, or finer beds of crocuses, than here. Could any stalwart labourer be more earnestly bent on the promotion of spade husbandry than that young monk yonder—the son of my lord of Harleye—a youth brought up to the enjoyment of every luxury, but now earning for himself the beatitudes which hereafter await the exercise of self-denial, physical and mental labour, and implicit obedience. Turn aside if you like, and do not despise the health-giving recreation you see going on in the bowling alley; and should you perchance hear issuing from the guesten window the ringing laugh of Prior Moore, provoked by the rich wit of that obese and jovial old abbot of Evesham, do not too hastily set down their enjoyment to the score of selfishness, for there, underneath the great gate

of the monastery, where Master Almoner and the porter are dispensing to a crowd of tatter'd and torn, is a practical refutation of that heresy, and an assurance to all beholders that—

"While the rich they entertained, they ne'er forgot the poor."

No doubt there was crime; unquestionably grave abuses prevailed; inseparable these must be at all times, not only from the isolation but from the association of individuals. A sinful nature is not proof against temptation, whether in the cell or in the crowd, and neither sermons, acts of parliament, nor the flagellations of the chapter-house, can enforce moral and religious rectitude. Monks were but men, and their foibles and vices, quarrels and excesses, errors and superstitions, contests and jealousies, have not been spared or overlooked in the following pages; but it has yet to be proved that there was not a machinery at hand sufficient for the assertion of monastic discipline and for the control and punishment of vice. Indeed we have it in evidence that the severity of conventual punishments led to numerous modifications of a rule which was considered more oppressive than flesh and blood could bear; and it is an objection I have always entertained to the monastic system that the fear and abject obedience begotten of their principles of subordination, in the veriest trifles of human exist-

ence, must have tended to unman the soul and bow down the noblest work of GOD in slavery to a fellow creature. Nevertheless while I allow to ultra Protestantism all credit for its zealous defence of the liberties of mankind and its jealous dread of the returning influence of Rome, I will not be drawn away to the length of suppressing truth. It was the boast of the reformed church that it was based on the truth of GOD's word, as opposed to the traditional errors which it supplanted; and is it for Protestants of the nineteenth century to fear the exposition of truth and to shudder at an apprehension of its consequences? I maintain then that the monastic system was not without its beneficial influences both internally and externally. The best proof of its being necessary to the scheme of the Providential government of mediæval society is the fact that it existed, and for so many centuries; and not until its work was accomplished—in a manner by which no other institution would have proved itself so well adapted for the times—was monasticism swept away, as being no further necessary.

Let us see how the conventual system operated on the outer world. Religious houses were the resort of kings and nobles and knightly personages, who in those rough unlettered times must have derived no small civilizing advantages from this intercourse; and large numbers of travellers of all

grades, who were likewise entertained in the monasteries, derived frequent lessons of courtesy and hospitality, with the softening influences of literature and religion, which they in turn more or less communicated to their own home circles. The church and monastery were at once a barrier against the aggression of the monarch and the lawlessness of the people. The fraternity of the religious held a constant warfare with barbarism, and many were their triumphs in all parts of the world, where woods and deserts were converted into smiling gardens, and the not less sterile moral waste received a cultivation which nothing but an earnest and self-denying devotion to the cause of GOD could have bestowed. It has been calculated that the Benedictine order were the means of converting upwards of thirty countries and provinces to the Christian faith; they were the first to overturn the altars of heathen deities in a great portion of Europe, and some of their most distinguished missionaries were natives of our own country. They erected bridges, tilled the soil, preserved learning and Sacred Writ, educated youth, had the secrets of chemistry, medicine, and art, left glorious works in literature and architecture. To quote the champion of the "Monks of the West"—"We invite them (the money-getters of the present generation) to instance in the annals of the world any body, institution, or organization whatever,

which can bear even a distant comparison with the monasteries, which were for ten centuries and more the schools, the archives, the libraries, the hostelries, the studios, the penitentiaries, and the hospitals of Christian society." The Benedictine order, with its immense property, patronage, and influence, was one of the greatest institutions of Christendom, and in preserving the memorials of what may be called the Worcester branch of that widely ramified establishment I am contributing a chapter towards our national history, which is constantly being fed by these subsidiary streams.

The monks, then, had a great mission, and they fulfilled it; and the more we become acquainted with their history and inner life the more inclined shall we be to put a charitable construction on both. It has been well observed by a Protestant writer that "those must be judged by a different standard whose life is a warfare, from those who live in peace and affluence. Men content with two meals a day, and those, during a considerable part of the year, mostly of vegetables, cannot well be judged by persons who take four or five, delicately cooked and spiced. Purple and fine linen ought scarcely to venture to pronounce on linsey-woolsey, nor six hours' occupation upon some sixteen or eighteen." Why, then, was it that an institution once so beneficent, so indispensable, was doomed to extinction?

Because it had fulfilled the objects for which it had been set up, and PROVIDENCE was no longer in need of its agency. Wealth had produced pride, avarice, voluptuousness, and an extent of corruption which caused human nature to rise against the system. The printing press had given GOD'S word to the people and had exposed the errors and superstitions of a corrupted church. The downfall of the hierarchy in this country—with the conventual system as one of its developments—was hastened not less by the infatuation of the pope than the brutal ferocity of the king. Ranke has ably shown that Protestantism was pushed forward by the political labours of the popes and the assistance of Catholic powers themselves. The oppressions and exactions of his Holiness had been for ages a standing grievance with cleric, monk, and layman, and yet with a strange perversity the monasteries were among the stoutest defenders of St. Peter's chair. Henry therefore was bound to sweep them away, or himself ignominiously retire from the conflict. In such hands the course was soon decided. To the superficial observer this would seem to have been an operation performed solely for the personal gratification of a sensual and self-willed man; but he who looks more deeply into the causes of things will perceive that society no longer needed the assistance of the monastery. In the rude society of the earlier ages

there was a reason why men who aspired to set the example and preach the duty of a higher and purer life should stand somewhat apart from the turbulent multitude, and present an oasis of peace and piety in the midst of contending factions and wild and lawless men. As civilization proceeded, the necessity for this isolation became gradually lessened; books and education were not, as in former times, confined to the cloister, but were rapidly circulating in the outer world; monastic hospitalities and the vicious excess of "holy" days, erroneously so called, had occasioned such general habits of idleness and debauchery among the working classes that a reorganization of the social system and the establishment of some kind of poor-laws were indispensable; and lastly, the sins and excesses of the cloister rendered it unnecessary in a large number of proved instances that those establishments should be perpetuated as models of virtue and religious seclusion. Yet one can almost excuse a Latimer for his regrets that some of the monasteries were not suffered to be converted to the purposes of preaching, study, and prayer; and a Leighton, that they were not spared as places of education and retreats for men of mortified tempers; or a Cranmer, who, "out of the old and corrupted houses of religion, was desirous to see arise new and better foundations — houses attached to all the cathedrals, to serve as

nurseries for the clergy of the diocese in religion and learning; an addition made to the incomes of the inferior class; and the number of sees increased, with a corresponding diminution in their extent, that the bishop might be in deed as in name the overseer." To these wise and good propositions Latimer added another, no less commendable, that a few of the greater abbeys should be left for pious and charitable uses. For the priory of Malvern, above all, he interceded with great earnestness, not that it "should stand in monkery, but so as to be converted to preaching, study, and prayer;" and then he adds, "Alas, my good lord (it is to Cromwell that he makes his fruitless appeal) shall we not see two or three in every shire changed to such remedy?" Coke in his "Institutes" says:—

"I doubt not but that every good man wishes that at our dissolution of monasteries both the lands and impropriated tithes and churches possessed by them (that is, things sacred to the service of GOD, although abused by such as had them) had been bestowed rather for the advancement of the church, to a better maintenance of the labouring and deserving ministry, to the fostering of good arts, relieving the poor, and other such good uses, as might retain in them, for the benefit of the church or commonwealth, a character of the wishes of those who first with devotion dedicated them (as in some other countries was religiously done upon the reformation) then conferred with such a prodigal dispensation as it happened on those who stood ready to devour what was sanctified; and we have in no small number since found such inheritances thence derived to them but as Serapus his horse, or the gold of Tholouse. But I abstain from censure, and add here by the

way a complaint made to the Parliament not long after the dissolution, touching the abuse that followed in the Church through laymen's possessing of appropriated churches and tithes: it deserves to be seriously thought on by every layman that now enjoys any of them, especially where the Divine service is not carefully provided for.

'Ye that be lords and burgesses of Parliament house (so are the words of it) I require of you in the name of my poor brethren that are Englishmen and members of CHRIST's body, that ye consider well (as ye will answer before the face of ALMIGHTY GOD in the day of judgment) this abuse, and see it amended. When as Antichrist of Rome durst openly, without any viser, walk up and down throughout England, he had so great favour there, and his children had such crafty wits (for the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light) that they had not only almost gotten all the best lands of England into their hands, but also the most part of all the best benefices, both of parsonages and vicarages, which were for the most part all impropred to them. (The impropriations held by them were much more than one third of all the parish churches in England, divided into three parts): and when they had the gift of any not impropred they gave them unto their friends, of the which always some were learned, for the monks found of their friends children at school, and though they were not learned, yet they kept hospitality and helped their poor friends. And if the parsonages were impropred, the monks were bound to deal almesse to the poor and to keep hospitality, as the writings of the gifts of such parsonages and lands do plainly declare in these words, *in puram elemosynam.* And as touching the almesse that they dealt, and the hospitality that they kept, every man knoweth that many thousands were well received of them, and might have been better if they had not so many great men's horses to feed, and had not been overcharged with such idle gentlemen as were never out of the abbeys. And if they had any vicarage in their hands they set in sometimes some sufficient vicar (though it were but seldom) to preach and to teach. But now that all the abbeys, with their lands,

goods, and impropred parsonages, be in temporal men's hands, I do not hear tell that one halfpenny worth of alms or any other profit cometh unto the people of those parishes. Your pretence of putting down abbeys was to amend that which was amiss in them: it was far amiss, that a great part of the lands of the abbeys (which were given to bring up learned men, that might be preachers, to keep hospitality, and to give alms to the poor), should be spent upon a few superstitious monks, who gave not £40 in alms, when they should have given £200: it was amiss that monks should have parsonages in their hands, and deal but the twentieth part thereof to the poor, and preached but once in the year to them that paid the tithes of the parsonages: it was amiss that they, scarcely among 20, set not one sufficient vicar to preach for the tithes that they received: but see now how that was amiss is amended, for all the godly pretence. It is amended even as the devil amended his dame's leg (as it is in the proverb): when he should have set it right he brake it quite in pieces. The monks gave too little almesse, and set unable persons many times in their benefices; but now, when £20 was given yearly to the poor, in more than 100 places in England is not one meal's meat given: this is a fair amendment. Where they had always one or other vicar, that either preached or hired some to preach, now there is no vicar at all, but the former is vicar and parson altogether; and only an old cast-away monk or friar, which can scarcely say his matins, is hired for 20*s.* or 30*s.*, meat and drink, yea in some places for meat and drink alone, without any wages. I know, and not I alone, but xx. M. mo. (20,000 more) know more than 500 vicarages and parsonages thus well and gospelly served, after the new gospel of England.' And so the author goes on with sharp admonitions to the laymen that feed themselves fat with the tithes of the churches, while the souls of the parishioners suffered great famine for want of a fit pastor, that is, for want of fit maintenance for him, for without that he is scarce to be hoped for."

It would be idle, however, to grieve for the fate of

the monasteries. Originally called into existence to correct the vices and irregularities of the secular clergy, they themselves were subjected to the rivalry and correction of the mendicant orders, until the reformers were compelled to take the rod in hand and drive the whole phalanx of "black, white, and grey," forth from the temple.

The chief points of interest in the following pages are the habits and discipline of the monks, their music and literature, with specimens of their illuminations, account keeping; their manorial rights, customs, and privileges; and the personal history of Prior Moore is of peculiar value, as it is seldom indeed that the private journal of an abbot or prior turns up so long after the event, or is found so full of interesting detail relating to the domestic habits and doings of the time, the sports, journeyings, furniture, feasting, and physic, then fashionable. The events attendant on the reformation and civil wars have a national import; and the additions made to the personal history of bishops, priors, deans, and others, as also to the secular history of the city, will be acknowledged to be valuable. New lights have also been thrown on the structure of the cathedral and the sites of the monastic buildings. Then we have a tolerably connected history of the reformed foundation of deans and chapters, with a specification of the rocks and quicksands which lay

in their course, their fierce struggles with Popery, Puritanism, and internal insubordination, their debts, charities, and many other peculiarities. And lastly, the catalogue I have given of records now in the possession of the dean and chapter may in future years be found to have its use likewise. It will be observed that I have not encumbered the work with more notes than were absolutely necessary, nor have I adopted the tedious plan of quoting my authority for every little fact, believing that the reader will be inclined to give me credit for quoting nothing *without* some authority; and as all the sources from whence I have derived information are mentioned at the outset, there is the less reason for expecting them to be reproduced in every page. It has likewise been my plan to construct a work for popular acceptance rather than one of dry detail, for which purpose I have not thought proper to give lists of monastic and capitular possessions, copies of Latin charters and Norman-French documents, columns of names, places, accounts, &c. Those indeed form the skeleton of history, but the general reader usually prefers it when invested with flesh and blood, and life and soul.

Foremost in my acknowledgments must be that to the dean and chapter, for the very kind permission granted to me to inspect their records, a permission the more agreeable as it was accompanied

by none but self-imposed restrictions; next, to A. C. Hooper, Esq., the registrar, for his courtesy and assistance on all occasions; to Mr. Wilson, of the Registry Office, whose help in making the registers and other documents accessible was always most freely given; to the librarians of the British Museum and Royal Society of Antiquaries, for their friendly aid; and to the Rev. M. E. C. Walcott, prebendary of Chichester, J. Gough Nichols, Esq., and Albert Way, Esq., for their solution of some archæological puzzles.

At the end of the volume will be found a few *errata*, with additions, and a copious index.

The records and documents belonging to the dean and chapter, which I have examined for the purpose of this work, consist of the following:

REGISTRUM SIVE LIBER IRROTULATORIUS ET CONSUETUDINARIUS PRIORATUS BEATÆ MARIÆ WIGORNIENSIS. Date, thirteenth century; vellum, 178 pages, in excellent preservation, and with an admirable index. Contains copies of Articuli hundredorum, or articles of enquiry sent by William I. to the sheriffs and prepositi hundredorum previous to his making the great survey of England; several of the common customs of villeins, the Novæ Provisiones Angliæ in the reign of Henry III.; copies of charters (among others that of King Edward of the liberties of Oswaldslow hundred, the grant or restitution of the north part of the Castle enclosure, originally seized by Urso D'Abitot, to the prior and convent, given at Bruges 22nd of May, 16th of Henry III.); customs, rights, and privileges, dues, indemnities, list of churches belonging to the monastery, tithes, pensions, and wages or allowances of the officers and servants of the monastery on feast days and otherwise. This book is mentioned in the

"Archæologia," vol. 8, p. 440, as being then (1765) in the possession of Mr. Thomas Astle, who subsequently presented it to the dean and chapter. Mr. Astle was probably the gentleman of the same name who was keeper of the records in the Tower of London in the latter half of the last century. The MS. was recently entrusted to the Ven. Archdeacon Hale, for the purpose of being edited and published.

LIBER ALBUS; so called, it is presumed, from the circumstance of its having been originally bound in boards of white sycamore, which became so full of grubs and so worm-eaten as to require separation from the book. It was then bound in fine white vellum, under the superintendence of Mr. Henry Clifton, in 1824. The book contains 496 leaves of vellum, and has a good index. Its date is from 1301 to 1446, and its contents are copies of charters, mandates, ordinances, inquisitions, sentences, pensions, manumissions, and the general affairs of the temporal possessions of the see. Chiefly written in Latin, with here and there Norman-French.

REGISTRUM SEDE VACANTE; date, 1302 to 1435. Oak wood covers, enclosed in white vellum; 268 leaves of vellum. Contains a record of all proceedings by the prior and convent (whose privilege it was to exercise the episcopal office) during any vacancy of the see, including visitations, mandates, presentations, ordinances, letters and replies, prohibitions, procurations, excommunications, wills and administrations, penances, absolutions, commissions to hear charges against the clergy, briefs from the king to collect fifteenths and subsidies, elections of bishops. abbots, prioresses, &c., of religious houses in the see; minutely detailed; Latin, and occasionally Norman-French.

BOOKS OF CHARTERS; three vellum books of thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, containing lists of donors to the cathedral church and see, copies of deeds, charters, foundations of churches and religious houses, statutes, boundaries of manors, releases and transfers of estates. All these documents of any historical value have been published by Dugdale, Thomas, and Nash.

LIBER PENSIONUM; vellum book, bound in wood, covered with vellum; commences with the year 1175 and goes to 1610; contains a specification of sums and other dues payable from the religious houses, churches, and other possessions in the diocese; these were chiefly called pensions. Also popes' bulls, commissions, licenses, procurations (or charges made for visitation), confirmations of the monastic possessions and the churches appropriated to them, the royal charter relative to the aqueduct from Henwick, proceedings of the prior and convent against Simon le Gros and Roger le Taverner for a murderous riot at the cathedral, &c.

LIBER RUBER; fifteenth century; bound in red. Extent book; returns of value of manors; taxation of religious houses, manors, and other temporalities; royal charters, homages, rents, rights, quit-claims, privileges, and other deeds, already chiefly published by Thomas and Nash.

A BOOK OF MISCELLANEOUS CONTENTS, close of fifteenth and beginning of sixteenth centuries, including proceedings in the bishop's court for trial of felonies, housebreakings, assaults, robberies, &c.

VALOR of Henry VIII. at the suppression; in paper sheets, with parchment wrapper cut from the illuminated leaves of an old church book. In a blank part of the parchment is written "Chas. Lyttelton, Dec. 20, 1735;" also "Mrs. Inett gave this to the library, 1758." Gives the money value of all the possessions of the monastery, 1541.

A (CATALOGUE) True Account of All Instruments which have passed the Seale of the Rev. the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Worcester since the admission of John Price, B.L. and public notary, to the execution of the Chapter Clerk's office, being 25 of June, 1675. This book contains autographs of the deans and prebends from that date to 1769.

COMPOTUS (or COMPUTUS) ROLLS, COURT ROLLS, BAILIFFS' ROLLS. A few of these are as old as the early part of the

reign of Henry III., but there are many of the time of the three first Edwards, and then they become numerous till the suppression of the monastery, after which they generally assume the shape of barristers' briefs, or sheets fastened altogether by the edge, instead of one long roll. There are also other *compoti* of bailiffs, collectors, receivers-general, and other officers; and they embrace all matters of expenditure.

PRIOR MOORE'S JOURNAL; 1518 *et seq.;* household and other expenses, royal visits, migrations to manor-houses and to London, domestic arrangements of the monastery, presents given and received, wardrobe, library, religious poetry, and an immense variety of interesting details.

BOOK of MISCELLANIES, beginning 1532, but having occasional entries from 1513 to 1540; provision made for household furniture at manor houses, religious and moral maxims, traditions as to the form and personage of CHRIST, the Virgin Mary, and some saints; recipes for medicine, meat and drink, abstracts of acts of parliament, lists of kings and queens, bishops, abbots, priors, and orders of monks, with other miscellanies rich and rare, including an entry of the surrender of the monastery in 1540.

REGISTERS, LEDGERS, or LIBERS, commence in 1458, and continue, with but few occasional omissions, to the present time. From 1636 to the restoration in 1660, however, no such registers seem to have been kept, or otherwise they are lost. Eight vellum leaves relating to 1641 only are fastened into the 1660 register. These books are properly registers, but are called ledgers to distinguish them from the bishop's registers, which are kept by the same custodian. They are of vellum, and have generally paper indices, apparently made in the early part of the last century, and continued to the present time. In many instances the earlier registers are bound with fragments of old missals and other church books. They are in Latin till long subsequently to the reformation, but occasionally a document in old English turns up. Contents: presentations to livings, appointments of officers, leases of and

licenses to alienate property, proxies for convocation, manumissions, copies of proclamations, letters, acts, grants, mandates, procurations, charters, excommunications, donations, grants, releases, agreements, bonds, installations, certificates, confirmations of episcopal grants, and the general business of the chapter.

CHAPTER ACTS or MINUTES; one small book of chapter minutes, 1546; another of orders and decrees for the latter half of the sixteenth and great part of the seventeenth centuries; another of chapter minutes immediately after the restoration; and a more regular series of Libers, or Act-books as they are called, commencing June 22nd, 1605, and continuing with but trifling omissions (excepting also the period of the Commonwealth) to the present time.

LIBRI RECEPTORIS GENERALIS, many volumes, the first commencing in 1565, but very irregularly preserved throughout. Embracing the accounts of the receiver-general.

A PAPER BOOK, with parchment covers, containing an inquiry by the Archbishop of Canterbury into the alleged mismanagement of the estates of the cathedral church at and immediately subsequent to the reformation; date, 1587.

LIBER VALORIS; an account of pensions, portions, tithes, chantries, &c., from Henry VIII. to Philip and Mary.

LIBRI INSTALLACONUM; one dated 1611, another 1660, a third 1675; including accounts of installations, enthronizations, admissions to minor offices, and a catalogue of legal instruments passing the seal of the dean and chapter from 1675 to 1769.

TREASURERS' BOOKS, from 1611 (omitting from 1642 to 1663); on paper, very irregular. They show the details of expenditure on the fabric of the cathedral, on organs, on charities, incidentals, and innumerable other outlays.

ARREARAGES; paper book, 1631; containing outstanding debts, &c.

PARLIAMENTARY SURVEY BOOKS, recording the value of all manors and possessions of the church of Worcester when deans and chapters were abolished, 1649.

BOOK of REPAIRS, 1660 *et seq.*, showing the damage done to the cathedral during Cromwell's protectorate, and the subsequent repairs.

SEAL BOOKS, 1660, with lists of patents and leases, appointment of almsmen, bedesmen, &c.

MS. COPY of HABINGDON'S "Treatise of the Church of Worcester from the foundation of the see to the suppression of the priory, with the description of the shire." The original of this is in the Society of Antiquaries' library, in Somerset House, London; and the late Dr. Prattenton states in one of his manuscripts that in the year 1818 Rd. Hurd, Esq., of the Palace (Worcester), showed him a copy of this treatise, which was found in the registrar's office, and which appeared to him to have been written by Mr. Habingdon himself. If so, this MS. would acquire additional interest, but the style of the writing appears scarcely so old as the time of Habingdon.

BOOK of fines, arrears, rents, salaries, expenses of holding courts, &c., 1741 *et seq.*

LOOSE DOCUMENTS, large quantities of, chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but some as early as Edward I., in Latin, Norman-French, and English, including correspondence on a great variety of subjects, audit expenses, bishops' visitations and injunctions, inventories, tradesmen's and officers' bills, deeds, contracts, petitions, treasurers' memorandum books, &c. Some of these deeds are cyrographs, or indentures, made in two parts, the edges of separation being made to match, or a portion of the writing cut through, to prevent forgery.

This terminates my brief catalogue of the dean and chapter's records; besides which I have examined the bishop's registers so far only as they

refer to the monastery and cathedral church, but find that Dugdale, Thomas, Nash, and Green, have already printed whatsoever is of much historical value in them. I have likewise carefully consulted the aforesaid authors, as also the Annales Wigorniensis (from the foundation of the see to 1308), Florence of Worcester, Hemingus, and many other monastic chronicles, Habingdon and Prattenton's collections for this county (now in the library of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Somerset House), a large number of MSS. in the British Museum, Strype's Annals, Professor Willis on the Cathedral and Monastic Buildings of Worcester, Fosbrooke's British Monachism, Montalembert's Monks of the West, the whole of the Surtees Society's publications, and many other works throwing light on monastic life.

Chapter I.

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FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY.

"Footprints on the sands of time."

WHEN, by the agency of Rome, the religion of CHRIST was a second time spreading throughout this island, missionary settlements were made in the various kingdoms of the heptarchy, and bishops were appointed, each of whom lived with a few priests, whom he sent out to preach and to convert the heathen in the surrounding districts. These priests were called the bishop's "family." They were not necessarily celibates, but lived, married or unmarried, in habitations surrounding their church or cathedral—an humble structure, composed chiefly of wood. It has been the opinion of some good authorities that this original "family" was a mixed company of clerks

and monks, who lived monastically, having all things in common. Some ages elapsed ere the coarse and sensual gods of paganism were entirely routed by the soldiers of the Cross, but gradually, as kings, nobles, and landowners, were gained over to the true faith, churches were erected, endowed, and provided with priests. These, becoming parochial, were nevertheless subordinate to the mother church or cathedral (as the parish church of the whole diocese), where the bishop had his seat, the name itself being derived from *cathedra*, a chair.

The kingdom of Mercia comprised the whole of central England and the greater part of Lincolnshire; and here, when Penda, the fierce heathen king, was dead, his son Peada, or Weda, who had obtained to wife the daughter of Oswi, king of Northumbria, on condition of his embracing Christianity, made good his engagement, and his brothers who succeeded him on the throne are said to have still further "enlarged here the empire of CHRIST—such rare fruit did GOD produce out of the sowre stock of Penda." About the middle of the seventh century the people generally were converted, and Diuma was made the first bishop; the diocese however was so unwieldy on account of its great extent that it became necessary to divide it into five sees,*

* Roger of Wendover says that the division was afterwards into nine.

of which Worcester was one, and here the first bishop, Bosel (Tatfrid, first chosen to that office, having died before his consecration), fixed his seat, Worcester being then the capital of the Hwiccias, and said by Florence, our local historian, to be, even at that early period (680), "surrounded by lofty walls and embellished by noble fortifications surpassing many other cities in beauty and stateliness,"* which seems to bespeak for it a (long disputed) Roman origin.

The cathedral was dedicated to St. Peter, and was near the site of the present structure, whose patron saint is Mary, the blessed Virgin. A succession of bishops followed for three centuries, until Oswald, aided by Archbishop Dunstan and King Edgar "the peaceful," effected a complete revolution by the establishment of a monastery, in lieu of St. Peter's college of secular priests. The historians say that as early as the year 747 there had been a convent or monastery, dedicated to St. Mary, near the cathedral of St. Peter, and that Oswald, by means of stratagem and liberal patronage, gradually won over the clerks or priests of St. Peter's to assume the cowl and become members of the previously existing monastery. Florence of Worcester

* Roger of Wendover speaks of Worcester as being, early in the seventh century, a city in the province of the Britons, through which Eadwin, King of the Northumbrians, pursued Cadwallo, King of the Britons.

intimates that force as well as craft was used to compass this end, and Roger de Hoveden says that the clergy who refused to assume the monastic habit were expelled. Unquestionably the bishop's neglect of the ancient clergy and his adherence to the monastic establishment, where he celebrated mass amid the odour of superior sanctity, drew away the people from the old cathedral, and the transition was completed by the erection of a new one in connection with the monastery in the year 983. The Rev. W. Stubbs, the well-known authority on Saxon times, remarks: "It is curious that our first notice of St. Mary's occurs shortly after the Council of Clovesho in 747, in which the rule of St. Benedict was enforced on all proper monasteries. At the same time Chrodegang instituted the order of canons, into which the chapter of Worcester, without following the minutiæ of his rule, shortly threw themselves. I think it, then, extremely probable that up to this date, 747, the double system (clerks and monks) had continued, and that from a separation ensuing, from the acts of the council, between the bishop's clerks and the monks, the origin of the monastic house was derived. In fine, that about 747 the compound society resolved itself into the secular college of St. Peter and the monastic society of St. Mary. They were close together under the eye of the bishop but kept carefully distinct till about 964, when St. Mary's swallowed up St. Peter's."

Thus King Edgar may be said to have been the father, founder, or regenerator of Worcester monastery; and the saints, Dunstan and Oswald, its nurses. Dunstan, at the Council of Winchester, had obtained an interposition of Heaven in favour of his scheme, by an audible voice from a crucifix in the room, though the married clergy were wicked enough not to be convinced by it. By what we gather from the best historians it is clear that a severe ecclesiastical reform was needed as early as the fifth century, through the corrupt habits of the secular clergy. The principal agent raised by Providence to accomplish this task for western Christendom was Benedict—as Basil and others reformed the rest of the Christian world. Benedict, born in the year 480, retired early into wild gorges and inaccessible hills at Subiaco, near Rome, and in the hole of a rock overhanging the Anio he lived three years, chastening his temptation to voluptuousness by frequently rolling his naked body in thorns and briers. Followed by numerous disciples, he founded in the neighbourhood twelve monasteries, each inhabited by twelve monks, who felled trees, cleared the soil, and raised a paradise in a wilderness. After many years' residence here, Benedict departed for Monte Cassino, where he founded the capital of the monastic order—the monastery which was to become the most powerful

and celebrated in the Catholic world; "and the rule which he wrote" (says Montalembert) "was the undying code of the most august and fertile branch of the ecclesiastical army." In his rule St. Benedict insists on two principles—action, or labour, and obedience. Labour was accounted second only to prayer and praise, as a salutary discipline; and in all ages of the Church, and in various injunctions, from those of St. Paul down to the Lord Cardinal Thomas in 1526, it was ordained—Et dum orare non poteris manibus labora. In fact, with them, to labour was to pray—laborare est orare; or, as the statutes of Hereford say, "No work without devotion; no devotion without work." And a noble motto, truly. Obedience and labour were the bases of Benedict's work, and serve as a clue to conduct us through the seventy-two articles of his "rule." As to labour, there was both manual and literary. The employment of every hour in the day was minutely regulated according to the seasons. Celebrating the praises of GOD seven or eight times a day, several hours were also given to manual labour, and two hours to reading. Those who were skilled in an art or trade could only exercise it by permission of the abbot or prior, and if any one prided himself on the good he was thus doing to the fraternity his occupation was changed until

he had humbled himself; while those who sold the product of this labour could take nothing from the price to the detriment of the monastery, nor could they raise it avariciously, but were to sell at less cost than secular workmen, "to give the greater glory to GOD." Labour was thus regulated as in an industrial penitentiary, and the sons of the Roman patricians or the barbarian nobles found themselves subjected, on crossing its threshold, to a severe equality with ordinary monks, and reduced to the same humble scale of living. As to obedience, this was the most meritorious and essential of all. A monk entered the monastic life only to make a sacrifice of self, and in resigning even the legitimate use of his own will obeyed a superior whom he had spontaneously chosen and who was to him the representative of GOD himself. Covetousness and self-love were to be suppressed, and pride pursued into its most secret hiding-place. Submission was to be prompt, perfect, and absolute, and there was to be no respect of persons between nobles and plebeians, freemen and slaves, rich and poor. The abbot or prior's authority was limited only by the necessity of consulting all the convent, in a council or chapter, upon important business. He was to ask the advice of each, but reserve to himself the final decision. His permanent council was com-

posed of deans or elders chosen by the monks themselves for their merit, and by the advice of these brethren the abbot could name a prior or provost to be his lieutenant during his absence. The abbot or prior was elected by all the monks, and his authority was to cease only with his life; but in case of the election of any unworthy person, the bishop or the neighbouring abbots were entreated to prevent such a scandal. Like a citadel always besieged, the monastery was to have, within its enclosure, gardens, a mill, a bakery, granary, and various workshops, in order that no necessity of material life should occasion the monks to leave its walls. A certain number of the religious fraternity, whom the abbot or prior judged worthy, might be raised to the priesthood for the spiritual service of the house, but without ceasing on that account to be subject to the ordinary discipline. One monk, chosen from the most worthy, under the title of "cellarer," was specially charged with the administration of the goods of the monastery, the distribution of food, the care of the furniture, and most of the other principal details. A generous hospitality was exercised towards the poor and to all strangers and visitors, but without disturbing the solitude of the monks or the silence of their cloisters. The community was bound together by two conditions—the solemn

engagement or vow, and the formation of collective property by the sacrifice of all that was individual: everything in the monastery was to be held in common, and the idea of personal property was a vice. Celibacy, with chastity, was the fundamental basis of all. Children were confided to the monastery to be educated. The novitiate was long and rigid, and terminated in the novice laying on the altar a vow of stability or written declaration of perpetual residence, reformation of morals, and obedience, under pain of eternal damnation. The whole night and day were generally divided into eight parts—matins, lauds, prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, and completorium or complin. Each of these services was called an "hour," every canonical hour consisting of three common hours. These "hours" were—matins and lauds, from midnight till six in the morning; prime to tierce, from six till nine; tierce to sext, nine to twelve; sext to nones, twelve to three; nones to vespers, three to six; vespers, complin, and rest, six to twelve. Each monk rose soon after midnight (usually however not till two in the morning), signed himself with the cross and invoked the Holy Trinity, provided for the bodily necessities of nature, and then hastened to the church, sang certain psalms and nocturns, then retired and waited for daybreak, when he began prime, and

afterwards read. At seven he put on his day-clothes, washed his face, and again proceeded to church (the sacrist ringing a bell for most of their ceremonials), and tierce was followed by morning mass; then proceeded to the chapter, adored the cross and other ceremonies. The "rule" was then read to them, or the gospel for the day, upon which the prior made a discourse, the monks confessed, asked pardon for offences, and the obstinate received punishment. After chapter they went to work till sext, and after the service they dined; then followed "meridian," or sleep at noon (common with nearly all people in those days), unless any one preferred reading or gossiping. Nones, then study or work; vespers, reading till collation; then complin, evening prayers, and bed at eight. This was the rule, but there were frequent exceptions on particular days and seasons, and also rules as to solemn silence on certain occasions. The variation in ceremonial, in genuflexion, dressing, combing and shaving, eating and drinking, in fasts and festivals, was almost bewildering: there was the frequent aspersion with holy water, the consecration of candles, censing, processions, embracing each other, washing the pavement and altar with holy water, creeping to the cross, symbolisms, benedictions—and all this subsisting without the exercise of one atom of free-will or

individual agency, for no one even could go where he liked without leave of the prior, or receive a letter or present from his nearest relative, nor could any one speak with a relative or friend but in the presence of others. On meeting, the monks saluted each other with a "Benedicite" (to be deprived of which was to be "sent to Coventry") and the abbot or prior was addressed as "Dominus" —Lord, or Pater. The brethren were to serve each other by turns in cooking and at the table; while eating, to maintain silence and listen to the reading of a homily or other pious discourse; to eat of only two cooked dishes and two uncooked, with stated allowances of bread, wine or ale, and vegetables. Originally no meat was allowed except to the sick, but as inland monasteries could not procure fish enough, some relaxation was made in this rule. They had for clothing a black mantle or sleeved cloak down to their heels, with a cowl or hood over their head, and under this garment they had a woollen coat, scapulary, or sleeveless tunic, as also a coarse flannel shirt, with wimple over the throat, breeches, stockings, and boots. A leathern girdle completed their costume. Only one change of dress was allowed, and that for the sake of washing. The top of their head was shaved in circular form, called the "corona," to represent the SAVIOUR'S crown of thorns, or, as some say, it

arose from a tradition that when St. Paul preached at Antioch, the Gentiles, to show contempt for Christians, shaved the top of his head, which afterwards was held in great honour among the religious. The monks had a straw bed, with a piece

[BENEDICTINE MONK.]

of serge, a blanket, and a pillow; were to sleep in one general dormitory, but in separate beds; to sleep but little, and always in their clothes, and without a nightcap; a light was always burning in the dormitory, and close watch was set over them that they went not abroad by night. Humility,

patience, and contentment, were inculcated; they were to avoid laughter, or speaking when unasked; and generally were to bend their eyes downwards; so that, as Benedict himself declared, the life of a monk ought to be a perpetual Lent. They pledged themselves to bear patiently humiliating penances for the smallest faults and even corporal punishment in case of murmuring or repetition of the offence. For light faults there was the smaller excommunication, namely, silence and eating alone after the others had done; for graver offences, bodily chastisement and exclusion. The excluded brother might be received again three times before he was banished for ever from the community. The reader who requires further details of the statutes of the Benedictines may consult Matthew Paris.

All this discipline and mortification of the flesh, Benedict declared, was only a little beginning—a modest introduction of Christian perfection; and Bossuet adds his testimony: "This rule is an epitome of Christianity—a learned and mysterious abridgment of all the doctrines of the Gospel, all the institutions of the holy fathers, and all the counsels of perfection. Here prudence and simplicity—humility and courage—severity and gentleness—freedom and dependence—eminently appear. Here correction has all its firmness, condescension

all its charm, command all its vigour, and subjection all its repose—silence its gravity and words their grace—strength its exercise and weakness its support; and yet always, my fathers, he calls it only a beginning—to keep you always in holy fear." "But (says Montalembert) there is something greater in all this—in the list of saints it has produced and the tale of conquest it has won and consolidated throughout the West, where for eight centuries it reigned alone—the irresistible attraction it had for bright and generous minds, for humble and devoted hearts, for souls enamoured of solitude and sacrifice—and the beneficent influence it exercised upon the life of the secular clergy."

Winsy, or Wynsige, was the first prior of the new monastic establishment at Worcester. He was also called dean or provost, having probably held that office and likewise circward or churchwarden of St. Peter's cathedral, the keys of which he handed over to Oswald, and was rewarded with one or two profitable preferments, including the vicarage of St. Helen's. The title of dean, or primus præpositus, is said to have been at first used in the same sense as prior. There was a dean of Worcester at the Conquest. In 1219, Richard, parson of St. Martin's, was dean, that living belonging to the prior and convent; and in 1225, Richard, dean of Worcester, is mentioned, the prior's name then being William.

It would seem therefore as though the office was a distinct one from that of prior, for St. Wulstan was dean in the monastery before his election as prior; yet there is a document in existence which states that the priors, or whom they should appoint, were deans over all the churches which belonged to the monastic establishment. Habingdon says: "Saint Oswald graunted likwise yt he (Winsy) and all his successors who shd be priors of this church shd be deanes over all his churches and priests in such sort as no deane or archdeacon shd intermedle with ye church of ye monks or thyer clerks but by licence of ye prior of ye church. The prior, as the bishop's supreame deane, shd pay to the bishop for his churches, of all which, as we have learned of our ancestors and seen them in this our age hetherto observed under Aldred our predecessor and under us we doe here witnes." The priors therefore, or whom they should appoint, were deans—that is, as we should now call them, rural deans.

It is recorded of Bishop Oswald, who was afterwards canonised as a saint, that when the erection of his cathedral was going on, observing a little obscene devil sitting on a stone which the workmen could not move, the saint made the sign of the cross, and the imp disappeared, whereupon the builders found no further difficulty. An angel, too, sometimes, ministered to the saint as he was saying

mass. When Oswald's body was brought into the cathedral to be buried, a white dove hovered over it, a globe of fire descended on the bier, and heavenly music was heard. The water with which they had washed the corpse gave sight to the blind, made the deaf hear, and the lame to walk. A monk of Ramsey, who had a cancerous ulcer on his cheek, "clapped Oswald's cup to it and was made whole, only that cheek was always a little ruddier than the other." When the city of Worcester was on fire, St. Oswald's coffin was carried into the streets; and a man who had built a fine house, being naturally desirous of saving it from the flames, cried out that the coffin should be carried into it, which was done, and the house was not in the least damaged, although the one adjoining was quite consumed. The saint, however, was unable to keep at bay the army of the Empress Maude, in 1139, for although his relics were carried in procession from one gate to the other, the enemy found their way into the city, plundered and fired it; but when the plague raged in the city, his corpse was carried round the walls, litanies being chanted, and the plague immediately left. Oswald's bones were raised from the tomb in 1003 and enshrined in the cathedral.

The kings of Mercia had been liberal benefactors to the infant church of Worcester, endowing it with

a great amount of landed possessions, fisheries, and other worldly wealth. Among the earliest gifts was that of King Ethelbald, consisting of two shops in London, for the health of his soul and the forgiveness of his sins. Offa, king of the Mercians, presented a very choice Bible, with two clasps of pure gold. In 857 a piece of ground outside the west gate of London was given, where afterwards the bishops of Worcester had a palace, for the convenience of attending the king's courts and affairs of Parliament. King Alfred, and Ethelred, viceroy of the Mercians, gave to the church of Worcester a palace or court in London, near to an old stone building called Hwætmundstane, adjoining to the wall of the said city, there to have weights and measures, and all bought or sold within that compass to pay toll to the bishop. Ethelred and his wife also (who rebuilt Worcester after it was ruined by the Danes) gave for that purpose one-half of what belonged to the king, whether in the market or the street, in return for which the bishop ordered that "De profundis" should be said for them as long as they lived and other services after death. King Edgar, under the advice of Sts. Oswald and Dunstan, may be said to have consolidated the endowment of the church and monastery, by uniting all their manors into one hundred, called Oswaldslow, which was to be ex-

empt from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrates and to possess other great privileges. King Edgar's charter, in which he professes his intention to found fifty monasteries in his dominions, is believed to be apocryphal—an after-invention of the monks; but his union of Oswaldslow hundred was a benefit real and substantial. Habingdon says that the three hundred hides of land in this hundred formed a third part of the shire. The bishop had two parts, and the prior and convent a third. There was one principal bailiff over the whole hundred and two under bailiffs, one of whom managed the bishop's part and the other the prior's. The chief bailiff was answerable both to prior and bishop. The monastery also numbered among its benefactors Earl Leofric and the Lady Godiva, of Coventry celebrity. The earl had been one of the spoliators of the church, but upon his death his lady restored several manors, including Wolverley, Blakewell, Bellbroughton, and Farfield, and gave to the monks, for the good of both their souls, three cloaks or palls, two caldrons, two coverings for benches, two beautiful candlesticks, and a library, on condition that she held the said lands for her life, on making a small annual payment. Heming's Chartulary gives an account of all the church's possessions, and informs us in detail of the evils which befel the church and of the great alienation of its

property by the hands of those cruel heathens the Danes, who so long infested, impoverished, and humiliated this country—in fact, nearly depopulating this part of the kingdom. Everywhere the track of these bloodthirsty pagans was marked with blood and fire, pillage and devastation; but chiefly their operations were carried on against the Christian churches and monasteries, which were ruthlessly destroyed. Bishop Werferth deserted the see of Worcester and fled to France, and clergy and monks were compelled to follow his example or hide themselves in other places till comparative peace was restored. The Mercians had made peace with the Danes on several occasions in the ninth century, after which the pagans reduced this central kingdom to subjection, and committed it to the charge of a military officer. One Simund, of that nation, greatly damaged the church of Worcester. He appears, however, to have experienced a sudden conversion, and obtaining a lease of the church lands at Crowle, stipulated to serve the monastery by sea or land, and to send the prior an annual present of a nag. Simund had evidently abandoned the worship of Odin for that of Mary and the Saints as a piece of worldly wisdom, entailing the undisturbed possession of many a fat acre.* Where Swein, the pagan king, did not exterminate he

* See *Rambler*; vol. ii., 263.

exacted enormous tribute. At Worcester, as we read in Heming and Dugdale, all the ornaments, furniture, and for the most part the endowments of the church were divided among the invaders, the silver and gold of the altars were taken away; the clasps of books, chalices, and crosses, melted; and money raised from the occupiers of their lands. This was continued under Cnut and Hardecnut; no wonder, therefore, at the citizens venting their indignation on the king's messengers sent here to collect another tribute, and by the death of those unfortunate officials (who had concealed themselves in the upper room of a tower of the monastery) incurring the subsequent destruction of the city and the cathedral at the hands of the king's soldiers.

The recollection of this long and dreary period of strife and bloodshed is said to have been perpetuated (after the dynasty of the Danish robbers had ceased) by nailing on the cathedral door the skin of a Dane who had stolen the sanctus bell. Some old doors still preserved in the crypt have on them a skin, which under scientific examination has been pronounced to be human, and of which the author of this work has in his possession a sample. Although retribution in the shape of flaying did not always befal the sacrilegious crew, the monkish chroniclers narrate with great emphasis the solemn judgments which befel these spoliators. Edwinus

and Morkere, duces, who had seized the lands restored by Lady Godiva, both came to grief, Edwin dying in captivity. One landowner who gave up his right to the Danes, thereby making the will of his father of none effect (certain lands at Salwarpe having been left to the monastery by the will) afterwards died in the hovel of a cowkeeper and was buried by two servants. Another depredator lost all his children, and had none to succeed to what he had unjustly taken. Swegen, or Sweyn, "a vainglorious fellow," took the abbess of Leominster and lived with her, till a superstitious fear of the archbishop of Canterbury's threats induced him to abandon her. Sweyn kept many lands in Shropshire belonging to the church of Worcester; and Circ, or Eric, took Clent, Tardebigg, and Swinford. Many of their lands in the counties of Oxford and Warwick were also taken by Danish leaders, but in every instance the avenging hand reached the sacrilegious crew: "Nam unusquisque eorum qui huic fraudi operam dederunt digna ultione percussi, aut luminibus privati, aut paralisi dissoluti, aut in insaniam versi sunt, plurimi etiam semetipsos interfecerunt." Edric, subregulus under Cnut, seized some of the church's manors in Gloucestershire, but was afterwards slain by the king's orders, and thrown over London wall, undignified by burial—"extra murum Londoniæ ignominiosè projectus."

Thus miserably harassed, the monks of Worcester were reduced in number to twelve, and the afflicted church awaited almost despairingly the advent of peaceful times and a saintly bishop who was to restore their ruined fortunes. To Winsy, the first prior, succeeded Æthelstan, Æthelsinus I. and II., Godwin, and Æthelwin, during whose era the church might well be likened to a ship tossed on the stormy waters, and not only harassed by the enemy from without, but in one instance at least betrayed and spoiled by her own captain, for Wolstan, the bishop who has been handed down to us as "the reprobate," is said by monkish writers of that time (early in the eleventh century) to have defrauded them of their possessions; but this charge probably arose from a disagreement as to the distinction between episcopal and monastic property, which seems not to have been placed on a satisfactory basis till after the Conquest. Moreover, the bishops of this diocese were great men and fierce warriors, the see of Worcester was an extensive and important one, and the bishops were necessarily much concerned in affairs of state both at home and abroad; they therefore could not brook opposition from subordinates, and frequently oppressed them with exactions and expensive visitations which became at length too grievous to be borne.

In strong contrast to Wolstan the reprobate

stands out Wulstan the saint. A native of Warwickshire, he took the monastic habit and profession at Worcester, where his father had before devoted himself to the service of GOD. Here the son distinguished himself by rigorous discipline and self-denial, and was at first appointed master of the novices and afterwards precentor and treasurer. Day and night he frequently spent in meditation and prayer, and mortified his body by fasting two or three days together. When he lay down it was not on a bed or couch, but on one of the benches in the church, resting his head on the book which he had used for praying or reading; and when elevated to the office of prior he rather increased than abated his previous habits. When Aldred, bishop of Worcester, accepted the archbishopric of York, Wulstan was by unanimous consent elected in his place; and the pope's legates, who were then spending Lent in Worcester, concurred in the election. Wulstan, however, obstinately declined the office, declaring that he was unworthy of it, and using an oath that he would rather submit to lose his head than be advanced to so high a dignity. No expostulation seems to have availed until a hermit named Wulfsi, who had lived in solitude more than forty years, sharply reproved him, and being also awed by a revelation, he reluctantly submitted. Wulstan's services to the church and

monastery may be considered as equal to a re-founding of the establishment, and that at a period of tribulation when nought but the fame of his saintly character enabled him to retain office and to present a bold front to the invader. The Danes had left the country, after reducing the cathedral and monastic buildings to ruins; their successors, from Normandy, were little inferior to them in ferocity and aggression. The Conqueror ruled both church and people with concentrated despotism, and under pretence of looking for treasure which his enemies had concealed in religious houses he instituted a general search and carried off immense wealth, together with all the charters that could be found. Heming, who was a monk of Worcester about the time in question, states that the following articles were taken from this cathedral: "From off the æscene or hrygile buc x pounds, off xv roods vi marks, off other crucifixes and chalices xi marks, off the long shrine viij pounds, off the iij horns iij marks, off the candlesticks x pounds, and off the hæcce xxxij marks, to which was added xl marks and vj half marks of gold."

Urso d'Abitot, the new Norman sheriff, residing in the castle which lay close to the south side of the monastery, was a sore oppressor: he took from the church Grimley, Waresley, Clopton, Lawern, and lands at Bengeworth; and that portion of the

conventual enclosure lying south of the cathedral (now forming College-green) he seized and added to the yard of the castle. An episcopal curse levelled at "the great bear" by Aldred, archbishop of York and protector of Worcester church, took no effect, and this land was not restored till some generations had passed away. Robert, brother of Urso, instigated by the devil, seized other lands, as likewise did their father Rodbeartus, who was dispenser to the king. Richard Scrob (Scroop?) took Cotheridge, and Turstanus Flandrensis laid hands on Ribbesford. Willielmus, another Norman chief, seized Hadsor, Rawnfus took Witley, and Hacun and his soldiers divided among them Clifton, Homme, Eastham, Tenbury, Kyre, and other possessions, and most cruelly used both noble and ignoble, rich and poor; "which his (Hacun's) wife Gunnild knowing to be unjustly done, to make some small recompence, gave the monks the image of the Virgin Mary, curiously wrought and adorned with gold." But that the monks of Worcester were too conversant with the science of "profit and loss" to accept this golden plaything as an equivalent for the alienation of their broad acres is proved by the statement that "they made incessant prayers to GOD and the holy Virgin, and blessed Oswald their patron, that they would raise up some good man, and put it into his heart to restore the possessions

again to the church, whose right they were; and that whosoever should studiously counsel and advise the same might have an everlasting reward." But mark the retribution again! Urso's son was dispossessed of the castle, although the land taken from the monks was not restored till a much later period; Turstanus was exiled; Rawnfus lost all his land, was imprisoned, and then "gave up his account to GOD;" and Willielmus was exiled and died an ignominious death, while his son spent his life in prison and never enjoyed the possessions. The abbot of Evesham, too, a shrewd man of law, who was more than a match for the simple-minded Wulstan, and who had laid unjust hands on Daylesford and lands in Warwickshire, it is comforting to know, was sorely afflicted with the gout, of which he died; and when Wulstan, in the true spirit of Christianity, at the head of the monastery of Worcester, began the obitual intercession for the repose of the abbot's soul, he himself was seized with the same complaint, and it was revealed to him that this infliction was meant as a punishment for his having prayed for such a wretch; whereupon the good bishop put an end to the charitable office, and with it his attack of gout ceased also.

By his firmness and the fame of his saintly character, Wulstan succeeded in disencumbering the church of Worcester from the claim of the

archbishop of York, and recovered twelve manors that had been taken from Worcester into that see, which alienation had been occasioned by the two sees having been held together;* he even obtained some land from the Conqueror, on condition of praying for the souls of himself and all who had assisted him in the expedition to this country. To purchase with a few acres the prayers of such a saint for the absolution of such wholesale robbers must indeed have been a triumph for King William. Wulstan did a great work for the church in obtaining restitution of much that had been lost; and generally it may be said of the monks that without much difficulty they managed to regain their alienated possessions by influencing the feelings of those thieves who, escaping more awful deaths by the sudden judgment of GOD, were permitted to yield up their souls in penitence from a peaceful death-bed. This good bishop, too, increased the number of monks from twelve to fifty; he gave them a mill at Tapenhall, of which they had stood in much need to grind their corn; he re-built the cathedral (opened

* The archbishops of York had an eye to the diocese of Worcester up to the year 1315, when the matter was brought to a crisis. His grace of York, in passing through Worcestershire, presumed to have his cross borne before him and to bless the people, for which he was excommunicated by order of the archbishop of Canterbury. A concordat was afterwards settled, in which the pope consulted the feelings of both the archbishops by denominating one the primate of England and the other the primate of all England—a nice distinction for papal ingenuity.

in 1088), and of which structure there are many fragments still remaining in the present building; he laid on the altar of St. Mary the gift of the manor of Alveston, which he had recovered, and consigned all who should take it away to be perpetually damned, without hope, in company of Julian the Apostate, and other sinners named. Wulstan was highly popular, preached much in the vulgar tongue at the cross in the churchyard, and appeared frequently at the door of the cathedral to administer the rite of baptism, when large crowds attended in devout estimation of his piety; he rebuked the clergy—a body at that time greatly depraved—for their extravagance in dress and other vices, and carried with him a little knife with which he cut off the hair of any laymen who knelt before him for his blessing, and who had fallen into the effeminate habit of that day of wearing the hair too long. His own self-denial went at last to the extent of eating no flesh, in consequence of a sinful longing he once entertained for roast goose, occasioned by the smell of one in course of cooking for his dinner as he was in the midst of his devotions. The bishop's claim to canonization was founded on the many miracles assigned to him both while living and dead. When, early in the Norman era, he was called upon to resign his see, he refused to give up his episcopal staff to any one

but him from whom he had received it—his former prince and patron, Edward the Confessor, and laying the staff on the tomb of that monarch, it so far became a fixture that no one could remove it but himself, whereupon he was peaceably confirmed in his bishopric. After making his peace with the Conqueror, Wulstan strictly observed fidelity to the new dynasty and did good service to the king in defeating the conspiracy of the earl of Hereford; and in 1088 one of the bishop's miracles was wrought while defending the city against the consequences of his loyalty to William Rufus. It is recorded by Florence of Worcester that Bernard du Neuf-Marché, Roger de Lacy, and Ralph de Mortemer, with the vassals of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, having assembled a numerous army of English, Normans, and Welsh, burst into the province of Worcester, declaring that they would burn the city, plunder the church of GOD and St. Mary, and take summary vengeance on the inhabitants for their loyalty to the king. On hearing this, the reverend father Wulstan, a man of deep piety and dove-like simplicity, beloved alike by GOD and the people he entirely governed, was in great tribulation; but soon rallying, by GOD'S mercy, prepared himself like another Moses to stand manfully by his people and city. While they armed themselves he poured forth supplications, exhorting his people

not to despair of the help of GOD, who fighteth not with sword and spear. Meanwhile the Normans entreated the bishop to remove from the church into the castle, saying that his presence would give them more security, for they loved him much. To this he assented, and the garrison and citizens assembled, declaring that they would encounter the enemy on the other side of the Severn if the bishop would give them leave. "Go," said he, "my sons, go in peace, go in confidence, with the blessing of GOD and mine. Trusting in GOD, I promise you that no sword shall hurt you this day—no disaster, no enemy. Be firm in your loyalty to the king, and do valiantly for the safety of the people and city." On hearing these words they cheerfully crossed the bridge, which had been repaired, and beheld the enemy rapidly approaching. The latter had already set fire to some of the bishop's possessions, seeing which, the bishop was prevailed upon by all present to pronounce a curse upon the enemy. The invaders, who were dispersed in parties through the fields, were instantly struck with such feebleness of limbs and loss of eyesight that they were scarcely able to carry their arms or recognise their comrades, and so easily fell into the hands of the king's liege-men and the bishop's retainers, who lost not a man, but returned home in triumph, having slain or taken prisoners nearly the whole of the invading

army. On the death of Wulstan, at the very hour of his departure he appeared in a vision to a friend whom he had specially loved, Robert, bishop of Hereford, in the town of Cricklade, and enjoined him to hasten to Worcester to perform his obsequies. Also (says Florence) GOD suffered no man to remove from his finger the ring with which he had received episcopal consecration, that the holy man might not appear to forfeit his engagement to the people, to whom he had often foretold that he would never part with it during his life nor even on the day of his burial. Wulstan's body began to work miracles soon after death, for on the cathedral being burnt in 1113 (William of Malmesbury says) the tomb of the saint and the mat on which devotees knelt were not damaged or even discoloured by the smoke or covered with ashes. Fifteen or sixteen diseased persons were said to have been cured in one day at his tomb, and the fame of these miracles having reached Rome, the papal commissioners, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and a couple of abbots, came to Worcester to institute enquiries, and being satisfied of the credibility of the said miracles, the canonization took place in 1218, the body was enshrined in a magnificent manner, and portions of the relics were distributed to various favoured places, one of the ribs being given to St. Alban's convent and

enclosed in a golden chest. The old shrine in which St. Wulstan's corpse had previously lain had been melted down two years previously, to pay a tax of 300 marks laid upon the prior and convent for their alleged promotion of the French interest; and one of these French gentlemen (William Mareschall) had made free with the saint's bones by sawing some of them in pieces. The pecuniary advantage to the church and monastery from the reputation of this saint was immense, devotees flocking in from far and near, and a tumbarius, or shrine keeper, was appointed whose duty it was to take charge of the offerings and divide them equally between the bishop and the monastery. The writer of the "Annales" reports that in the year 1220 the LORD was pleased to work many miracles by his saint, Wulstan, especially among the deaf and dumb. In the following year a dead boy was restored to life; and a fighting man—Thomas of Eldersfield—who had been blinded and emasculated in a pugilistic encounter in a field called Kingsham, near the monastery of Worcester, miraculously received his sight and was restored to virility, which so wrought upon his convictions that he at once took the habit in the monastery and there lived honourably; whence, says the chronicler, this verse was written on him:

"Sexu privatus fit vir; videt exoculatus."

Many years later, a young monk, against the advice of the prior and others, indiscreetly abstained from meat, drink, and sleep, so that he might the better impress on his memory the lessons in chanting which he was studying; but about midnight, with perturbed brain, he alarmed the rest of the brethren, and the head of St. Wulstan was brought to compose him. The youth thereupon heard the following words pronounced by the saint: "My head has been placed on thine; behold I come with my head, and thou art made whole." He then removed a scroll from his head, saying, "If I had not interposed thou shouldest have remained in this debility till the feast of St. Oswald." The cure was then complete.

Wulstan's successor as prior, in 1062, was his own brother Ælfstan. He improved the revenues of the establishment by the purchase of various manors, and during his presidency the two brethren —bishop and prior—entered into fraternity or fellowship with the abbots of Gloucester, Evesham, Pershore, Winchcomb, and Chertsey, that the brethren in each of those monasteries should truly serve GOD, St. Mary, and St. Benedict, and be faithful to their sovereign lord King William and their lady Maud, and be true one to another as if they were one monastery, one heart, and one soul; that on Monday and Friday in every week

they should sing masses in each monastery for all the brotherhood living and dead, and do acts of charity, in washing, feeding, shoeing, and clothing poor men. And when Thomas was prior (1084), he, with the monks here at Worcester, made another agreement with the abbot and brethren of Ramsey that they also should be as one monastery, performing all devout offices one for another and to have all things in common. At a later period a similar confederation was made between the convents of Worcester, Abingdon, and Wenlock, that for every deceased brother in each monastery thirty days of his allowance of food should be applied to charity (funereal dole) and thirty days' mass to be said for him; for a bishop or prior of Worcester or abbot of Ramsey a whole year's allowance to be made; and the brethren to have a shelter at each place if needed. Fosbrooke tells us that this fraternization was for the purpose of mutual defence against the oppression of popes and bishops, and that the monks, when driven from one place, should have refuge at another. This was at a time when laymen also enrolled themselves in fraternities or guilds, some of which obtained letters of fraternity from a monastery in return for value received, which letters ensured to them equal privileges while alive, and Christian burial with obituary services after death. The records of

Durham monastery afford an interesting account of the obituary or bede rolls which were carried about from a monastery where one of the brethren or a lay benefactor had died to all other religious houses in the neighbourhood or that were confederated for the purpose, beseeching the prayers of the religious on behalf of the deceased, whose name and good deeds were recorded on the roll, and pledges were made to reciprocate similar services whenever required. The bearer of the brief or roll was denominated a "breviator." At length the country swarmed with these roll-bearers, who were really only mendicants, and the original institution had so degenerated as to become a nuisance, but it seems not to have been entirely suppressed till the reformation.

Another incident in connection with Wulstan's times was the great increase in the number of monks at Worcester necessitating a separation of the family; accordingly it is stated that about the year 1083 some of the order, aspiring to greater perfection, retired from the monastery to the shades of the forest of Malvern, and became hermits, with the approbation of Bishop Wulstan. The monk Alwin was made by him superior of this colony, the bishop having first persuaded him against a contemplated pilgrimage to Jerusalem by the assurance that his residence at Malvern would be

wonderfully favoured by GOD, which he lived to see fulfilled in a great accession of brethren and the willing assistance rendered them by the country people, which led the way to the foundation of a priory. The establishment at Little Malvern was subsequently founded in a similar manner, by another detachment from Worcester monastery, of whom Jocelin and Edred were the leaders. Both these houses were under the control and government of the bishop and prior and convent of Worcester, on whom, according to the records, they reflected but little credit, William of Ledbury, one of the priors of Great Malvern in the thirteenth century, having been deprived of his office for horrible crimes, one of which was his keeping no less than twenty-two women; and the state of morals at Little Malvern became so infamous as to evoke the emphatic denunciation of Bishop Alcock. In "Anglia Sacra" it is stated that Ramsey was colonized from Worcester at an early period. Some monks from Worcester also settled at Hay in the time of Henry II. In the case of these and all other houses subordinate to Worcester, on their election of an abbot or prior he was to come to Worcester to receive the blessing of the bishop in great ceremonial at the cathedral, swearing canonical obedience to his diocesan, and then the prior and convent of Worcester claimed the new prior's

vestments or a sum of money in lieu thereof, likewise an entertainment of eating and drinking for the whole monastery. The following is a specimen of the oath of allegiance taken in regard to one of these houses subordinate to Worcester monastery—namely, St. Austin's at Bristol:—

"Ye shall swere that ye shall be faithfull and tru feith and trouyth shal bere to the king our souvrain lord, and to hys heyres Kings of Englonde of lyffe and lymme and earthly worshippe for to lyffe and dye ayenst all pepple, and diligentlie ye shal attendante vn to ye kingis nedis and besoignes after youre witt and power and the kynges counsell ye shal kepe and layne and trulie ye shal knowledge and the s'rvyce due of youre monasterie of Seint Awsteyns besid Bristow the which ye clame and holde of oure sov. lorde and kinge and the which he geveth you and to hym and hys commandements in that to you atteynoth and belongeth for youre temporalities ye shal be obeysant as GOD helpe you and his sayntis."

Succeeding Ælfstan as priors were Ægelred, previous subprior and chantor of Canterbury, and Thomas, prior of Westbury. During their office Bishop Samson enriched the monastery with the church of Wolverhampton and its territories, but he greatly displeased the monks by his regulations at Westbury, where he substituted secular canons for monks. His successor, Bishop Theulf, gave to the Worcester monks the fishery at Northwick or Bevere, and some lands in the suburbs, for making better provision for their table.

In 1113, the cathedral,* the castle, and the whole city, were burnt—such fires being of frequent occurrence in consequence of the houses being constructed chiefly of timber and thatch. One of the monks, who had rendered great service to the monastery, with two of his servants and fifteen citizens, perished in the flames. Florence informs us that in the same year two high-born monks—men of exalted worth, Thomas, the lord prior, and Coleman, both departed this life on Saturday, the fourth of the nones (the 4th) of October:—

> "Together summoned from this mortal state
> To realms above, they met a common fate:
> There, with the saints, in never-ending joy,
> GOD give them rest, and peace without alloy."

These high-born monks, the younger sons of the nobility, were frequently found in convents. The author of "Annales Wig." states that Henry the lord of Harleye, who died in 1281, had six sons, one of whom (John) was a monk at Worcester, and obtained 1185 days of indulgence for the souls of his parents.

But to return to the priors in order of succession. Nicholas was elected to that office in 1113, the year of the fire already mentioned, but we have no account of the restoration of the cathedral at

* Wharton and Leland mention only the roof of the cathedral as having been burnt then.

that time; the damage probably was confined to the roofs. Local historians say that Nicholas was succeeded in 1124 by Guarin, who subsequently wrote the life of St. Wulstan, but Florence gives him the name of Benedict, the consecration of whom, together with that of Simon, the bishop of Worcester, is thus described by him:—

"Simon, the bishop-elect of Worcester, went to Canterbury in company with Godfrey, bishop of Bath, and having been ordained priest by the archbishop on Saturday in Whitsun-week (23rd May) was on the following day consecrated with great pomp bishop of the holy mother church of Worcester; John, archdeacon of Canterbury, receiving consecration as bishop of Rochester at the same time. Richard, bishop of Hereford, David of Bangor, Godfrey of Bath, and Sigefred of Chichester, assisted at the consecration. When Simon arrived at Worcester, his episcopal see, he was again met by great crowds of people, conducted by whom in procession with great pomp he was enthroned, and a 'Te Deum' chanted. On the same day, that is to say on the ninth of the calends of June (24th May), Benedict, a loving and faithful servant of GOD in all his household, was, by Simon, the new bishop, consecrated as the new abbot of the convent of Worcester; he was, the year before, from having been prior, elected abbot of Tewkesbury, where he had been brought up under the monastic rule from boyhood, and in course of time was admitted in peace and love to be one of the monks of Worcester by license from Wulfstan, the lord bishop, at whose hands he had received all the ecclesiastical orders. There were present at the consecration of this abbot the bishops who had received Bishop Simon in procession, namely Richard of Hereford, Godfrey of Bath, and David of Bangor, together with Benedict's fellow abbots of the diocese of Worcester, Guy of Pershore, William of Gloucester, and Godfrey of Winchcombe; the Lord Walchere, the prior of Malvern, represented his

abbot, who lay sick, and Dominic, prior of Evesham, was also present: these were men to whom the words of the Psalmist may be applied, 'He sendeth the springs into the rivers which run among the hills,' and such was the company which met the bishop in procession."

Benedict, *alias* Guarin, remained in office as prior nearly twenty years, during which period the city and cathedral were again partially burnt, in 1133, and the disastrous effects of the contest between Stephen and Matilda were much felt by the church and monastery. Bishop Simon was a considerable benefactor, restoring Westbury and many lands and fisheries, as also churches in Worcester, of which the monks had been deprived, and when near his death he wrote a pathetic letter to the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, desiring them to restore the church of St. Mary le Strand to the monks of Worcester, which he (Simon) had wrongfully given away. King Stephen likewise evinced much good will towards the monastery:—

"In his time (says Habingdon) Worcester castle was his court, the cittie his, and the church of Worcester devoted to him, for comming hether within the octaves of Easter, being 2 kal. Maii, An. D'ni. 1139, as writeth a monk of this monastrie who continued a while the history of Florentius, this magnificent king of England and his royall attendens were receaved with a solemn procession of the whole clergie and people, and prayer being ended and a benediction according to ye custome given, the king offered at the altar, taking fro' his fingar his royal ringe, which on the morrow, with the consent of all, was represented to his royall presence.

The king thereupon admiring the humble devocion of the flock of our LORD, yea ye flock of Worcester, receaved again his ringe, being injoyned thereto by the most holy love of St. Marie, the mother of GOD. But lett us see what followed hereupon. When Maud the empresse, ennimie to K. Stephen, came the same yeare to Glocester, a rumor, saith he, yt the cittie of Worcester should shortly be wasted by the enimie, despoiled of all and burned. The cittizens of Worcester, hearing hereof and terrified, consult what was best to be done, and taking mafure advice, they flie to ye sanctuarie of GOD the Almightie Father, and his most holy Mother, and to the patronage of the bl. confessors Oswald and Wlstan, bishops sometimes of this cittie, committing themselfes and all thyers to the divine protection. They who were present might see all ye furniture of ye cittie brought into the church, a miserie to behold. Loe the house of GOD, wh. they ought not to enter but in holo-caustes, where the sacrifice of praise was to be offered up and vowes rendred to the Highest, appeareth for a time a storehouse of all stuffe. Loe the principall monasterie of ye whole bishoprick is turned to an inne for the citizens to pleade thyer controversies, to hold thyer armour, to keepe thyer sacks, the number being such as scarse a roome was left for GOD's servants in this tumultuous place. Within singe the clergie, without crie the infants; togeather with the voice of ye quire resound the voices of suckling babes, and instantly lamentac'ons of women. But above all calamities it was the heaviest to behould the principall altar bereaved of ornaments, the crosse layed aside, the image of St. Marie the most holy Mother of GOD withdrawn, the curtaines with the palles, the albes with ye copes, the stoles with ye vestments, shut up within the walles. There wanted in ye festivity of the sts. the glorie, the honour, and all the wonted magnificence for celebration of thyer office. Fro' the feare of the enimies all this proceeded lest surprising us on ye sudden they shd. carrie away all yt ever they found and so prevaile in thyer vanitie. In ye dawneing of the day on the 7 of the ides of Novemb., being Tewesday in the beginning of winter, we weare in the church to praise GOD

and had songe Prime, when loe what longe before our eares had hard a mightie and strong armie marching fro' the south issueing out of ye stealth of malice, and now at last the towne of Glocester full fraught with souldiers being innumerable troopes of horse and foote had sett out thyer powers to invade, waste, and consume with fier the cittie of Worcr., and we fearing the ruine of the ornaments of our sanctuarie, in our surplesses and all the quier singing, brought out with an humble procession the reliques of our most clement patron St. Oswald, and to terrifie our enimies and represse thyer irruptions carried them fro' gate to gate through all ye church-yard. The adversaries mustring speedely in one, doe first assault a strong bulwarke raised in the south parte of ye cittie, for defence of the castell; our men began stoutly to resist them with approved valour, the enimies receaving there a repulse because they were olla succensa, or a pott boyling on ye fier, whose face was fro' the face of ye north, they sought to enter on the north parte of ye cittie, where no fortresse withstanding them, the abundant, ravenous, and unbridled multitude rushed in casting fier on divers places. O the grief! Noe small portion of the cittie was in sundrie places burnt, but a greater portion standeth yet not tainted with flames. In the cittie was a mighty pray of divers sorts of household stuffs by ransacking houses, and the like in the countrie about, of oxen, sheepe, cattle, and horses; many men were in towneshippes and streets taken and coupled together like doggs, meserablie carried away, have they or have they not, they are inforced upon thyer oathers to bind themselfes and pay for thyer redemption soe much as thyer enimies' cruell tongues wd. censure. And this befell in ye day of ye entrance of winter, to wretches doubtlesse a cold and terrible day. Prays (prey) thus taken and very many houses soe consumed with fier, the ravenous armie having made this outragious havock returned, never (I hope) to turne face on us againe with such a minde to worke us mischief. The 30th day of Novemb: the earle of the cittie of Worcr. came and seeing his cittie so burnt, lamented, plainley perceaving all this was done in despite of him. Whereupon

to be revenged, armed with a warlike troope, he leaded them to Sudely, for he hard yt John ye sonne of Harole, foresaking the king, followed the earle of Glocester, where if any aske what the earle of Worcr. did, it is scarse worthy the memorie, for he repay'd ill with ill, and on ye morrow, with his captives, thyer substance, and cattell, making spoile and driving all away, returned to Worcester. After this the king with a greate armie marched fro' Oxford to Worcr. whose miserie as before he had hard, so now with exceeding grief he beheld. Stayeing there some few days he deprived his enimie Miles of Glocester of ye honorable office of high constable of England, indoweing William ye sonne of Walter de Beauchamp, sheerif of Worcestershire, with ye dignitie. In Advent ye King comming again to Worcester did in his castell of Worcester as in his Court dispose of business."

Ralph was the next prior of Worcester (1143). He however died the same year and was succeeded by David, who was deposed, but for what reason does not appear. Osbert was elected in 1145, and Ralph de Bedford followed him in 1146. This Ralph remained in office upwards of forty years, having taken part in the consecration of five successive bishops of Worcester. It was his lot also to witness the neighbouring stronghold of the castle occupied by King Stephen's enemies; Habingdon says:—

"But in the stormy raigne of King Stephen, wherein the face of ye realme often altered, the castell of Worcester chainged to Stephen's adversaries, and being a peece then of marveilous strength withstood him so as neyther his longe seige nor his two castells raised there and furnished with souldiers against it could conquer it, but all his attempts

defeated.* England turning into union of peace, this castell especially soe much as was wrongfully taken fro the church, become a court for the kings who frequented this countrie. Henry the 2 An. D'ni 1158 in the solemnities of Christmas did at Worcester weare his crowne, and when masse was ended sett his crowne on the altar and never after wore it againe."

Roger de Hoveden says that Queen Eleanor was crowned together with the king on this occasion—that it was at the festival of Easter, and the third crowning of that monarch. Thirty years later the same king revisited Worcester, "for the purpose of marching thence with a large army into Wales, to wage war against the Welch, who had ravaged his territories and slain his subjects. Rees, the son of Griffin, however, dreading his attack, having obtained a safe-conduct from the king, came to Worcester, and there swore fealty to the king of England, and that he would give his son and nephews as hostages to the king; but, on his attempting to bring them, they refused to accompany him." During the king's visit to Worcester on this occasion occurred an incident which serves to show the great power to which the clergy had then

* He took and burnt the city nevertheless, and soon forfeited the character he had previously maintained with the people of this district, as Robert of Gloucester rhymes thus:—

"King Stephen his lutheness withdrew yers a fewe,
But er V yer wer goo he gaune to wex a shrewe,
For he wende aboute and robbyd, lond and to grownd broght,
Then the toune of Wyrecester he vrent all to nought."

attained, it being one of the privileges of the higher ecclesiastics of that day, if they met a criminal going to execution, to order a reprieve. Roger de Hoveden relates that Gilbert de Plumpton, a knight of noble birth, being led in chains before the king at Worcester, and accused of rape by Ranulph de Glanville, justiciary of England, he was by an unjust judgment condemned to be hanged; the multitude cried that an innocent man ought not thus to suffer, and Baldwin, bishop of Worcester, hearing the shouts of the people, followed to the place of execution, where the rope had already been fixed round the criminal's neck, whereupon the bishop forbad the execution under pain of excommunication, it being the LORD's day and the feast of St. Mary Magdalen. The executioners were thereupon compelled to loose the rope, and the last office of the law was postponed till next day. That same night, the king being made acquainted with the malice of the justiciary towards the criminal, the latter was rescued from death, though he was kept in prison for a long time, and his ultimate fate is not recorded.

Nor is the deep superstition of the time without an illustration in the annals of Worcester monastery. Roger de Hoveden, after gravely noting the auguries of astrological diviners respecting a certain remarkable conjunction of the planets, which was

to occasion a slaughter and flow of blood "like the surging waves," quotes the following writing which appears to have been circulated in the year 1184, and a copy of which is now among the records of Worcester cathedral:—

"To all literate men, and especially to scholars, to whose presence this present page shall come, Anselm, the humble brother in the LORD, of the monastery at Worcester, greeting. Marvellous is GOD in his saints and in his works, who never ceases to work miracles in behalf of his people. And inasmuch as no man places a light under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may give light to all, a miracle, wondrous beyond measure, took place in our house on the day before the calends of November; which in order that it might come to the knowledge of those not present, by writing at least, I have committed to writing. Be it known then unto your discreetness that one of our lay brothers, falling into a trance, lay nine days and nine nights like one dead before a certain altar, prostrate there in the form of a cross; and as he was a religious man, and a brother of a holy mode of life, no one of us dared to remove him thence. On the tenth day, at the third hour, in a low voice, and with a wailing tone, still in a wondrous lament, he chaunted the following lines ten times or even more."

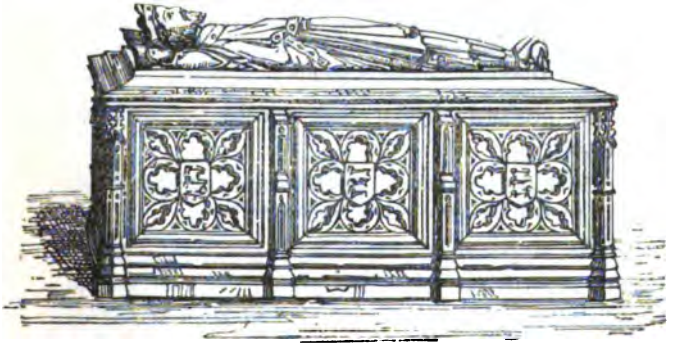
Then follows a long and woe-breathing prophecy on the dreadful mortality and universal carnage which should happen as soon as "the sun shall touch the back of the lion slain by Hercules." And then the visionary, aroused as it were from sleep, raised his head and said to one of the brethren, who, for the purpose of seeing the miracle, had come with the rest, eyeing him most intently,

"Wonder not at my features, for die thou shalt: a grievous and sudden end shall overtake thee." Then he foretold, "not less elegantly than if he had been gifted from his infancy with the eloquence of Tully," in the Latin tongue, certain events which were then come to pass. The principal prediction appears to have been a pestilential season, which afterwards occurred; and on the very day of the prophecy, that same brother whose death he had predicted, gnashing his teeth, ended his life in the greatest agony. The chief part of the miracle was of course the fact of an uneducated lay brother being enabled suddenly to make Latin verses; but as touching their "elegance" it is certain that any schoolboy of the present day would be ashamed of them.

Senatus, who had been precentor, was elected prior of the monastery in 1189, but voluntarily resigned that office, probably finding its duties or pleasures inconsistent with or obstructive to that life of literary pursuit in which he had indulged. He was succeeded in 1196 by Peter, a monk of this place, who however was deposed. Randolph of Evesham followed in 1203, and ten years afterwards was elected bishop of Worcester. It was seldom indeed that the monastery or even the king himself was permitted to rule the election of a prelate, the pope or his legate putting in a veto on

the appointment, as in this case, so that Randolph, instead of being confirmed in his bishopric, was made abbot of Evesham. Sylvester of Evesham succeeded him as prior of Worcester in 1215, and being in the following year raised to the episcopal seat, Simon, chamberlain of Worcester monastery, became prior. The commencement of the thirteenth century was memorable to the monastery through the visits and patronage of King John, a monarch who, whatever his faults may have been, was a great benefactor to the church of Worcester, and probably owed much of that blemished reputation by which he is now known among men to the biassed judgment of some monkish biographers, occasioned by the fact of his opposition to the overbearing demands of the pope. The king was at Worcester on Easter day in the year 1200; again in 1207 he performed his devotions at Wulstan's tomb, and gave one hundred marks towards rebuilding the cloisters and offices, a great fire in 1202 having burnt the cathedral and monastic buildings, together with the city. In 1214 or 1215 he kept his Christmas here, the bishop of Worcester, who had meanwhile assisted in publishing the pope's interdict on the whole kingdom, having retired out of England. In the following year, when the leading men of Worcester had declared in favour of the son of the French king, on the earl of Chester

bringing a body of king's troops hither, the soldiers of the garrison, who had taken sanctuary in the cathedral, were forced thence, the sacred building and the storehouses of the convent were plundered, and a fine of three hundred marks imposed on the monks, for the payment of which they were compelled to melt down the embossments of St. Wulstan's shrine, as before mentioned. Not many months later the body of the king was brought to Worcester and buried before the high altar, where



[KING JOHN'S TOMB, WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.]

it still remains. The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, at the congress of the Archæological Institute at Worcester in 1862, mentioned the discovery, among the national records of the Exchequer, of an account of several pieces of silk, which had been paid for

out of the royal treasury and delivered to the earl of Pembroke, and by him to the prior of Worcester, for the covering or adornment of King John's tomb. The chapel of Grafton was appropriated to burn lights at the royal tomb.

There is now no trace of any epitaph on the unfortunate king, yet Roger of Wendover informs us that the following verse was composed for the purpose :—

"Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur regis imago,
Qui moriens multum sedavit in orbe tumultum.
Hunc mala post mortem timor est ne fata sequantur.
Qui legis hæc, metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Discite quid rerum pariat tibi meta dierum."

A profaner rhymer thus speaks of departed royalty:—

"With John's foul deeds England's whole realm is stinking,
As doth hell, too, wherein he now is sinking."

It is probable that King John was the real restorer to the monastery of the piece of ground now the College-green, which had been seized by Urso d'Abitot to enlarge the boundaries of his castle. This restoration is usually assigned to Henry III., but from the following extract from Habingdon it would appear that the surrender of the land had been decided upon at the time of King John's burial:—

"But I will come to the charter of King Henrie the 3rd restoring to the church of Worcester after so longe a time

her owne againe in these words:—'Henry by the grace of GOD King of England, &c., to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, justices, sherifs, magistrates, ministers, and all his bailiffs and faithfull subjects, greeting: know ye yt we have graunted and by this our charter confirmed for us and our heirs to the prior and monks of St. Marie of Worcr. ye parte of ye castell of Worcr. wh. lyeth on ye north side of ye same castell wherein our house was situate, and wh. is of our fee, reaching to ye parte of the said castell wh. is of the fee of Walter de Beauchamp, as of right belonging to thyer church, and wh. Guala, sometimes legat for England, and William Mawscall, the earle of Pembroke, while he was guardian of us and of our kingdom assigned to the same prior and monks for inlarging thyer court on yt day when the bodie of Lord John, our king and father, was commended to his sepulchre in the church of St. Marie of Worcr., in the presence of ye reverend father Silvester, then bishop of Worcr., Ranulphe earle of Chester and Lincoln, William de Ferrars, earle of Darbie, Will. de Lasey, John de Monem, Hugh de Mortimer, Walter de Clifford, et Roger de Clifford, who were present at the interring of the aforesaid Lord John, our king and father, we being at that time under age, to have and to hold of us and our heires to the same prior and monks and thyer successors for ever to inlarge thyer aforesaid court. Wherefore we will and straightely command for us and our heirs yt the said prior, monks, and thyer successors, shall for ever have and hold ye said parte of ye castell, being on the north side of the same castell, wherein our house was seated, and wh. is of our fee, boundeing on ye other parte of ye said castell wh. is of the fee of Walter de Beauchamp, and enioy the same well, peaceably, freely, and quietly, with all thyer appurtenances as the right of the foresaid church, in such sort as Guala and William Marescall asseigned them the same parte at the time above named. These being witnesses, the Rd. fa. Peter bishop of Winchester, Hugh de Burgo, earle of Kent, &c., delivered by ye hand of ye venerable fa. Rafe bishop of Chicester, our chancellor, at Bruges, 22 Maii et 16 Hen. 3.

Betwene the funerall of King John and 16 Hen. 3. The cause for the division of ye priorie fro' ye castell was hard crastino Ascen. D'ni. 3 Hen. 3, before Stapleton and his associates, justices, as soe the monasterie as before separated fro' the castell by a jurie consisting of gentlemen of the shire, who although thyer names are allmost extinguished yet because they often occurre in the discovery of the bishopric, and many at this day are descended of them, I will here sett downe them. Robert de Wicke, Harbert de Misegres, Robert Pipes, Richard Bruille, Richard de Attnoke, William de Goldicote, Richard fitz-Andrew, Roger de Clevelade, Will. Bychera, Elias de Acton, Henrie de Amberstes, William fitz-Maurice, and two knights of ye countie of Glocester, Richard de Misegros, and Philip de Mucton. These decided, as before is said, the north of ye castell to appertaine to ye priorie and the south to Walter de Beauchamp, heire of Urso d'Abetote. Lastely Will. de Beauchamp, the first earle of Warwick of yt name and founder of the Graie-friers without the walls of Worcester, where he and his countess Maud were buried 4 Edw. fil. Hen. Regis, for £100 of silver receaved before-hand, release to ye prior and monks of Worcr. one acre and an halfe with the appurtenances in the suburbs of Worcr., wh. land was within the priorie closed with a wall towards ye monks; this by description being the same growne wh. Vrso de Abetote tooke wrongfully fro' ye church of Worcr., whereby he incurred the archbishopp Aldred's curse, was first lost disgracefully by his sonne, next a fortresse of warre to disturbe the peace of the realme, then a court for kings, and now restored againe, wh. may appease the wrath of GOD and teach those who have inritched themselfes with the ruines of the church to feare the sentence of ye Almightie JUDGE. The prior of Worcr. granted yt for this release the religious shd for ever find one monk, being a priest, daily to say masse in ye church of Worcr. at ye altar of St. Phillip and Jacob, for ye soules of Will. de Beauchamp, father of this earle, and all his ancestors and heires for ever, as appeareth in ye leiger of rectories and appropriations of Worcester priory."

The author of "Annales Wig." says, under date 1217:—

"The castrum of Worcester was restored to us as our right even to the moat of the tower in the vigil paschatis by letters of the king under the seal of W. Marescall his tutor, and Bp. Silvester excommunicated all who should oppose it (qui venirent contra)."

The castle thus became greatly circumscribed, and when, in the reign of Richard II., the earl of Warwick had joined in an insurrection against the king, and was stripped of many of his possessions and thrown into prison, the offices of hereditary sheriff of the county and keeper of the castle were suppressed, and the castle was subsequently turned into a prison.

During the priorate of Simon (in 1218) the restoration of the cathedral after the great fire of 1202 was completed, and the renovated building was dedicated "in honour of the blessed Virgin and St. Peter, and of the holy confessors Oswald and Wulstan." Henry III. was present, with a great company of bishops, abbots, and nobles, and then it was that St. Wulstan's body was translated to its shrine near the high altar. Henry III. was also a liberal benefactor to the city and monastery of Worcester, on both of which he conferred valuable privileges. He held his court here at Christmas 1233, and having then performed a most unpopular act in the dismissal of the native

officers of his court to make way for foreigners, a gloomy foreboding seizes the people, whose superstitious dread being also excited by the appearance, on the confines of the counties of Worcester and Hereford, of four spurious suns round the real one, and immense snakes being seen fighting in the air in the south of England, until one pursued the other to the bottom of the sea, where both were lost sight of, as witnessed and attested by Roger of Wendover, nothing but a national disorganization was anticipated, the feeble monarch scarcely managed to hold his own, and the barons, with Leicester at their head, secured the foundations of English liberty, the epoch of the House of Commons being usually dated from this time. The king visited Worcester on several occasions. On the 28th of July, 1226, while here, he sent a safe-conduct to Llewellyn, prince of Wales. The disaffected barons had cultivated the friendship of Llewellyn, a prince who a few years previously had been excommunicated by the papal legate and summoned to Worcester to perform homage. The turbulence of the Welsh was a constant source of anxiety, and Worcester, Gloucester, and Shrewsbury, were among the border towns most convenient for holding councils relative to Welsh difficulties. King Henry and Llewellyn were therefore frequently at Worcester on this business. On May 27th, 1231,

he sent from Worcester a similar pass for Llewellyn, as also for the nuncio and other clerks; and on November 10th, 1245, the king being again at Worcester, his justiciary interdicted all commerce with Wales,* and on the same occasion the prior and convent made a donation of one hundred shillings and a silver cup towards the marriage of the king's daughter.† Two years previously they had presented cups to the king and queen. During this long reign of fifty-six years many vicissitudes happened to the religious brotherhood of this monastery. There were seven priors here in that period: the first of these, Simon (already named) was deposed by Bishop William de Blois. That prelate, being jealous of certain privileges granted by the pope to the priors (one of which was to the effect that they should not be deposed unless cause was shown to judges delegated by the pope), visited the monastery in 1220, and examined very strictly into their spiritual and temporal affairs, which was the beginning of a great controversy between them, the bishop endeavouring to depose the prior, but the latter appealed to Rome, and the pope stayed the deposition till the cause should have been heard before himself; the bishop also appealed, and the prior (Simon) went to Rome,

* See Rymer's "Federa."

† There must be some mistake here, as at that time King Henry had been married only nine years.

carrying letters from the convent to exchange for four hundred marks, and forty marks for expenses. Master William of Lichfield, who was retained in the service of Worcester monastery for five marks yearly, crossed the sea with the prior. Meanwhile the litigious bishop greatly afflicted the monastery, suspending some of the monks and excommunicating others, who were afterwards absolved by the mandate of the archbishop. The priory was sequestered, and when Simon returned from Rome he found himself excommunicated, and William Norman, of Malvern, holding his office but against the consent of the monks. The bishop had likewise given the presentation of Dodderhill church to a relative of his own, and against this the poor prior appealed, but was harassed out of his life before the cause was ended. The expenses of litigation in the Roman Court were frequently ruinous, owing to the distance to be traversed and the rapacity of the popes and their officials. Italian agents resident in London usually furnished pecuniary accommodation to travellers, in the way of exchange, which obviated the risk of losses on the road. Those Italian establishments at length supplanted the Jews as money lenders, and formed the basis of the banking establishments of Lombard-street. The "Master William" above-named was evidently the lawyer to the convent. There are other traces of

legal aid being retained for the fraternity; for instance, in the time of Edward III., "John Peto, of Warwickshire, was of the council of Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, and also to the prior and monks, covenanting to be for them in all causes and upon all occasions, and not against them or their monastery, for any person whatsoever."

The controversy above-named lasted two years and terminated in a composition, in 1224: several "discreet" men, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Bath and Lincoln, the abbots of Evesham and Reading, and Master S. de Eketun, clerk, decided, first, that the prior (Norman) should resign at once and have the manor of Clive for his life and a hundred marks for his debts and expenses paid from the convent in four payments; the monks that had favoured one party or the other to be allowed to return to the convent in peace and all enmity to be buried; that no prior should be elected that time from the monks in the convent, but one from some other monastery, whom in his conscience the bishop might think most fit; and when the priory should become vacant in future they were to present seven monks, from whom the bishop should present one to be prior, nor was he to remove any prior without just cause; and in his presentations of livings, &c., during the vacancy of the priory, the bishop should act *bona fide* and not

to the damage of the convent, and not delay the ordination of the prior in order to advantage himself in the matter of first-fruits. Or if the bishop should be out of the kingdom he was to appoint some one else to nominate the prior, so that the convent might not remain desolate. As to the tomb and shrine of St. Wulstan, one portion of the profits was to go to the bishop and the other to the convent, and honest clerks or monks to have the custody of the same on behalf of each party. The bishop to have the right to enter their chapter whenever he would, but before he did so he was to give notice whether he intended to enquire into their spiritualities or temporalities: if the former, he was to enter alone, without his clerks; if the latter, they might accompanying him. All pensions, rents, &c., to be restored to the prior and convent as before. The kiss of peace to remove all rancour, and both parties were admonished to observe their respective duties and ordinances.

William de Bedeford, prior of Tinmouth, was elected prior of Worcester in the year when the above agreement was made, and in the following year he erected a new residence for the priors. At the same time one William Briwerre gave to the monastery a gold chalice weighing four marks, which was not to be alienated except for famine or fire or necessary redemption.

The next prior was Richard Gundicote (elected 1242), who had served the office of sacrist. He was followed in 1252 by Thomas, who had been sub-prior for thirty-two years; and Richard Dumbleton, the cellarer, was elected prior in 1260. This was a period of great depression, occasioned by the tyranny of the bishops, the exactions of popes, and the heavy subsidies to the king for carrying on the war against his own subjects. Statutes reformatory of the Benedictine order had likewise been put in force: none but the sick and weak were to eat flesh except by special indulgence of the prior; linen shirts were not again to be worn; the monks were to renounce all kinds of property, concubinage to be rooted out, and other severe restrictions enjoined. A synod or council was held in Worcester cathedral in the year 1240, when fifty-nine rules or constitutions for the clergy were agreed to. Among these was one which debarred the clergy from buying growing corn, "lest by selling time, which GOD would have common to all, they fall into sin, while they purchase cheaply and dispose of at a high price that which required only time—a thing not to be sold—to make it valuable." This was a very sharp censure on the time bargains sought after by the clergy of those days. Immense sums of money were about this time demanded by the pope's legate, which led to such resistance on the

part of the English prelates that bishop Walter of Worcester, in a council held at London, declared that he would rather be hung than submit to such ruinous impositions. For this rash patriotism the bishop was excommunicated. Matthew Paris says: "They were oppressed on all sides; the king was against them; the pope in his greediness for money was their enemy; the nobles felt no compassion for their mother church; and Rustand, the legate, a learned man, and one well capable of injuring them, stimulated their enemies to this mode of proceeding." Bishops' visitations, too, had long been ruinously expensive and grievously tyrannical. Bringing with them a huge body of retainers, they feasted on the best and stayed an unreasonable time; and in one instance, that of the bishop of Lincoln, if the last-named author is to be credited, the mode adopted by that prelate to test the character of nuns at the time of his visitation was barbarously indecent. Many monasteries were compelled to sell the ornaments of their churches to make sufficient provision, and the evil went on increasing until the pope limited the bishops to a retinue of thirty horsemen. Bishop Godfrey, in the thirteenth century, was notorious for the burdens he thus laid upon convents, bringing with him 140 horsemen and a great multitude of attendants to the Worcester monastery, where he stayed three days

instead of one, and actually turned the prior out of his chamber, although the bishop's own palace was situate but a few yards off. The prior appealed, and procurations were afterwards converted into a money payment; but before this, some monasteries had purchased, by heavy payment to the pope, an exemption from this episcopal oppression, and obtained other visitors. There is the authority of Roger of Wendover for stating that these visitations were carried on "rather to the defamation than the reformation of the several orders, inasmuch as those who had followed the rule of St. Benedict in the various quarters of the world, in consequence of the rules of these visitations are now so discordant, that amongst all the monasteries and religious houses there are scarcely two which agree in their rule of life." But more of this subject hereafter.

The Worcester "Annales" also record the frequent and heavy payments made by the monks of Worcester to the king for subsidies, and to the pope for tenths, &c., till at length, the monastery being unable to pay its debts, and some of the buildings being ruinous, the pope was compelled to appropriate various parsonages for the use of the prior and convent; Bishop Nicholas gave sixty marks for reëdifying the tower of the cathedral and eighty marks for other purposes; the archbishop of York (1255) bequeathed "insignia capellæ pre-

tiosa;" and in the following year the prior and convent obtained from the king the custody of the woods between the forests of Feckenham and Kinfare.

In 1263 the city was besieged and taken by the barons, who, however, spared the church, probably because the bishop of Worcester had espoused the popular cause of Simon de Montfort. The chroniclers differ in regard to this matter: M. Paris says that the earl of Derby, who was not connected with king or barons, took Worcester on that occasion, plundered religious men and seculars alike wherever they were met with, destroyed the king's parks, and perpetrated other offences, for which he was afterwards taken and committed to prison. Both accounts however agree that at this time the Jews of Worcester were put to the sword or imprisoned; and here I must insert a brief episode relative to the Worcester Jews and their connection with the prior and convent. Stephen of the Lowe (Lindridge) in the thirteenth century gave certain lands to the prior and convent of Worcester in return for the protection they afforded him against the Jews, who had detained him in prison, loaded him with chains, and by exquisite torments compelled him to redeem himself. "His said lords, the prior and convent, being moved with pity, and seeing him forsaken of all his friends (although they themselves were at the

same time pledged to pay off a heavy debt of their own), did, by the expending of much money, free him from his bonds and restore him to life and liberty," and he then confirmed to them the said lands at the Lowe. "Another ancient gentleman, named Penhull, falling likewise into the merciless hands of these devouring, usurious Jews then dwelling in Worcester, was also by the prior and monks redeemed out of that thraldom, whereupon they were also rewarded with certain lands. A mervayle to see these enemies of CHRIST in a Christian common wealth permitted to exercise such cruelty against Christians; but more strange that, being all now punished, they have left their trade behind them to Christians." There can be no doubt that the besetting sin of the Jews was extortion and usury, but it is equally clear that they were also frequently sacrificed to the covetousness of kings and others in authority in this country, who, for the purpose of extorting the ill-gotten wealth of these money-lenders, invented tales of the most damaging kind, such as their circumcising and crucifying Christian boys on Good Friday, clipping and sweating coin, &c., whereby the popular indignation was readily provoked. In the reign of Henry III, 700 Jews fell victims to the fury of the mob in London, and in 1275 a statute was passed to abolish their usury. They wore for a badge a

yellow taffeta upon their upper garment, that they might be distinguished from the rest of the people, and other degradations were heaped upon them, till their final expulsion from the kingdom, which took place in 1290, when nearly 16,000 of this despised race bade adieu to our inhospitable shores. There is no trace of the locality of the Jews' residence in this city, but there is a piece of ground forming part of Pitchcroft still called "The Jews' Patch." Could this have been their place of burial? We know that Jewish sepulchres were always outside a town, as they much dreaded defilement.

During those troublous times law and authority seemed to be set at defiance, a most striking instance of which is related by Matthew of Westminster, who says:—

"About this time the itinerant justiciaries (judges on circuit) held their sittings at Gloucester, and then, intending to sit at Worcester in the week after the festival of St. John the Baptist, they found no one to come before them on their summons, or to make them any answers as if they were justiciaries, because they were making their circuit within the seven years, before the completion of which period they could not lawfully hold their courts according to the provisions of the kingdom. Moreover, the people of that district were offended at the short notice given by the summons, which did not allow them any sufficient or reasonable time, according to the salutary decisions which have been pronounced in England in former times."

The remaining priors of Worcester, from Richard

Dumbleton, before-named, to the close of the thirteenth century, were William of Cirencester (elected 1272), who had been previously sacrist; Richard Feckenham (1274), who had served the office of chamberlain; Philip Aubin (1287), previously sub-prior, and described as a man of great perfection and sanctity; and Simon de Wyre (1296), who had also been sub-prior, and to whose election the bishop, the Earl of Warwick, and Edmund de Mortuo-Mari (Lechmere) did great honour at a splendid banquet. During their tenure of office the affairs of state had changed and the reins of government had been assumed by a firmer hand. Llewellyn prince of Wales married, at Worcester, the daughter of Simon de Montfort, the kings of England and Scotland being present, and thus strengthened the alliance of the popular or factious party; Edward nevertheless subdued Wales, humbled Scotland, resisted the pope's bulls, and ruled the clergy with a heavy hand for their refusal to contribute adequately towards the exigencies of the state. It had been the fate of this king's father to enter Worcester once at least as a prisoner, but Edward paid frequent visits to this city and monastery as a powerful and successful monarch. He kept Christmas here in 1281; at another time he held in Worcester his parliament respecting a military expedition to Wales; then he came to pay his devotions

at St. Wulstan's shrine; and next we hear of his being rowed down the Severn with his queen as far as Kempsey. In 1293 the king sent "an offering to St. Wulstan, namely, a gold chain and two golden cloths for the altar, and the chapter ordered that every week should be said masses for the king's safety in his French expedition. On the 1st of September, 1294, he came again and heard the monks repeat some verses made in praise of St. Wulstan. Next day the king offered four gold buttons and six marks at the saint's shrine, and in the evening he went for Pershore. In July of the following year he came here in a boat, attended the mass of St. Wulstan, and offered a button value eleven marks and a hundred shillings to St. Oswald, and two fine cloths to the altar. Kneeling at Wulstan's tomb, the prior and chantor standing by his side, the king said 'What reward shall I give to blessed Wulstan for all he hath wrought for me by his prayers? This little I vow before GOD and his saints—to provide at my own expense for the maintenance of three monks and for two lights to burn before his tomb.' Again, on May 3, 1296, he sent an oblation to Saints Wulstan and Oswald of a chain of gold, nine candles for their tombs, and 14*s.* in money, May 4, 1300, were received from the king a baudekin for the great altar, 7*s.*, and a candle, and to St. Wulstan a golden buckle and

eight candles to burn before his tomb. April 16, 1301, the king came again, with his queen big with child, and gave the prior and convent the advowson of the church of Wirfield for the maintenance of three monks and two lights burning on the feasts of St. Wulstan and their octaves, and then he went in a boat towards Kempsey. In 1303 the king sent a cloth of gold for the great altar, a gold chain worth £5 for St. Wulstan's shrine, nine great candles, and 28*s*."

So far, in his "Survey," Thomas affords us a glimpse of royal munificence to the church of Worcester. We now turn to facts of a less agreeable nature. In the "Annales" it is stated that on Holy Trinity day in the year 1292 blood was shed in the cathedral "through the violence of processions fighting together, and yet, as is believed, it (the blood) did not touch the pavement, which at last, on the 8th ides of June, was notoriously manifest to us, and those who after this were celebrating with simple heart in the church abstained from the celebration until the bishop had dispensed (dispensasset) with them; and the ecclesiastical office was never said in chapter-house until the eve of St. Barnabas, when the bishop purified the polluted church."

It was again about this time the misfortune of the monastery to be at issue with the bishop on many important questions. Whatever liberality

Bishop Godfrey de Giffard might have exhibited towards the monks of Malvern in providing them with two mills, or to the nuns of Whistones in endowing them with lands at Aston and tithes in Claines, or to the citizens of Worcester in contributing towards the first paving of the city, it is obvious that the prelate's charity did not commence at home. In 1288 began the controversies between the bishop and the convent which lasted till his death. It originated in the bishop claiming for his nephew the right to call up candidates for ordination, which office was also claimed by the chantor of the cathedral. The monastery appealed to Rome. On visiting the convent subsequently the bishop entered the chapter-house to enquire concerning spirituals only, and said, "I am come here to correct your daily faults," to which the prior answered, "Father, it doth not belong to you." The bishop: "Do you not make confession to me?" Prior: "No, but to GOD and the church." And upon their again appealing to the pope the bishop retired. Subsequently however he visited them again, and alleged that he had an undoubted right to receive the professions of all the religious entering his convent, to come to their chapter-house when he pleased, to treat both of spirituals and temporals, to correct their excesses, and to take care of the persons to be ordained—all of which

had been denied him. The dispute was at length arranged by the prior and convent giving the bishop twenty marks and forty more by two subsequent instalments, and thereupon the bishop confirmed to them the previous composition made by Bishop Blois. In 1290 the bishop was also at variance with the convent, as it appears in the "Annales" that in March of that year "William Pœnitentiarius and H. de Cornera, by precept of the bishop, gave ashes to the people on Ash-Wednesday, and sent out the penitents, the prior in the mean time being talking aloud to the chapter of the convent, but afterwards the prior blessed the ashes and gave to the convent, nor suffered himself to infringe on the office of bishop." This was evidently a little dispute as to whom the right belonged of blessing the ashes, for on that day it was the custom of the church to receive penitents, who were clothed in sackcloth, with naked feet, and eyes turned to the ground, and after repeating over them the seven penitential psalms, ashes were thrown on the people so presenting themselves, and the bishop commanded the officers to turn them out of the church, as Adam was thrown out of paradise, and they were not again "reconciled" or received into the church till Maunday (Thursday before Easter).

This bishop likewise annexed the best livings in his gift to the collegiate church of Westbury, to

which the prior and convent would not consent, and refused to set their seal, as depriving them of profits and privileges when the see was vacant, and they obtained a bull from the pope appointing a commission to enquire. Nothing came of this, but ultimately the cause came on for hearing before the king and council, when the prior and convent were successful. In the Court of Arches, however, the bishop obtained his suit, and the prior and convent appealing, the controversy did not end till peace was afterwards made by mediation, the prior to pay five hundred marks to the bishop, and he to take off all suspensions and release them from all actions. Not only was the bishop oppressive to the monastery, by his expensive visitations, as before named, but generally he was a litigious character, and had long contentions with the archbishop and the earl of Gloucester. In the year 1300 he fell sick, but sent his officials, Robert of Gloucester and John de Rodeberne, to visit the convent; Master Geoffry, however, and two other monks met them at the chapter-house door and refused them admittance, it being contrary to the agreement, and subsequently they exhibited thirty-six articles against the bishop in the archbishop's court, which articles set forth—that when the cathedral was last burnt, the then bishop undertook to restore the same, for which purpose the prior and convent granted him

the tithes of their lordships, but succeeding bishops and Godfrey had spent nothing on the said church though they continued to receive the tithes; that he had appropriated the churches of Hallow, Grimley, and Winchcomb, and circumvented the prior and convent; that he had violently ejected Thomas de Wychio, their precentor, from the church, and extorted sixty marks from the chapter; had exacted procurations from the prior and convent, contrary to custom; had usurped the goods of the church and constructed therewith his castle at Hartlebury and his houses at Worcester, Kempsey, and Wyke; had held the sacrist exempt from obedience to the prior; had exercised certain rights of patronage in the city churches which did not belong to him; had represented to the pope that the church of Worcester was ruined, and obtained from his holiness certain first-fruits of churches, but had never spent any portion thereof on the cathedral; had in his visitations laid down grave statutes and then taken fifty marks from the chapter to revoke them; had granted freedom to serfs without consent of the prior and convent; had conceded the assize of bread and ale in the hundred of Oswaldslow to the Lord Simon de Crombe, who had taken to wife a relative of the said bishop; had conceded to the abbot of Westminster the right of visitation at Great Malvern priory and the veto on the election of prior

there, to the great injury of the prior and convent of Worcester; had exacted two shillings for christenings from every church in the diocese having burials, and twopence from those not having burials; that when Master Walter Channel gave £40 towards making a chancel for the church of Clive, and put the money into the hands of the vicar, the bishop by various vexations extorted the money from the vicar's hands, and did nothing towards the said chancel; had received four marks annually from the vicar of Donnamenee, as procuration fee, to his great prejudice, and other extortions at visitations and from executors of wills; had exceeded episcopal power, and for selfish purposes, in regard to the churches of Kempsey and Weston-sub-Edge; had admitted pluralists to the cure of souls at Severn Stoke, Fairford, Thornbury, and other places; had destroyed the episcopal woods at Malvern and Beanboys; and that at one of his visitations to Worcester monastery he brought a great number of his kinsmen and retainers, so that there were a hundred horsemen, who did great damage, broke the utensils in the house, and cut the table cloths or napkins (mappas scindendo) by the bishop's connivance; that at Tewkesbury his visitation charges exceeded thirty marks, and that at Pershore he received a cup of silver and other articles; and finally, that great scandal had arisen in the diocese from his extortions and notorious love of money.

Here is a tolerably long indictment against the overbearing, litigious, and high-spirited Godfrey de Giffard, lord chancellor of England and bishop of Worcester. Let us see what he has to say in vindication of his conduct: first, he professed to know nothing of the agreement to repair the cathedral with the tithes received from the monastery, nor had he received any of the said tithes; as to the ejection of the precentor, the latter had usurped the duty which belonged to the archdeacon or deputy of the bishop, but he had not been violently expelled nor had any money been taken; and the bishop maintained that he had demanded no more procuration or christening fees than he was entitled to; denied that he had usurped the goods of the church to build his own houses, but admitted that he had promised to build certain episcopal houses near the cathedral out of some annual profits pertaining to himself in the cathedral for the previous thirty-three years, viz., the offerings at the shrine of St. Wulstan; alleged that the promotion of the sacrist pertained to the bishop from ancient custom,* but that he had not exempted him from obedience to the prior except so far as the said office only was concerned; that Simon de Crombe and his predecessors had always had the assize of bread

* This was the case: the bishop chose the sacrist, and committed to him the keys and custody of the cathedral.

and ale; that the bishop was prepared to expend the money left by Walter Channel according to the terms of his will; that his presentation of pluralists to livings was in expectation of the papal dispensation; denied that he had destroyed any woods at Malvern or received any cup at Pershore. With regard to the many other charges, the bishop either pleaded custom, alleged that he knew nothing of the matter, denied without explanation, or made no answer whatever, and altogether his case certainly appears to have been a very weak one. The archbishop however was apparently satisfied, for he soon after visited the bishop at Wyke and was there handsomely entertained; and on the next day, "a day of tribulation and chiding" (says the monkish scribe), he entered the chapter-house, and deposed the sub-prior, chantor, and chamberlain, and commanded the sacrist, Nicholas de Norton, and the third prior and the pittanciary, not to go out of the bounds of the monastery for a year, upon pain of suspension.

To the credit of the prior be it said that on the death of the bishop, in the following year, no vindictive or revengeful feeling on his part was evinced, as a proof of which it may be stated that the bishop had built during his life-time a sumptuous tomb for himself over the monuments of St. Oswald and Bishop de Constantiis, near the

great altar, the body of the altar being removed for the purpose, and that on the archbishop of Canterbury hearing that the new monument had scarcely left room for the priests to minister at the altar, he ordered the encumbrance to be removed; whereupon the prior besought the archbishop to forbear doing so during the bishop's last sickness, lest the grief thereof should hasten his death; accordingly the removal did not take place till after that event; and the bishop, as if to make amends for the injuries he had occasioned to the monks, bequeathed his vestments and mitre to the church, coverings for Holy Cross and other altars, 40*s.* towards the repair of the fabric, and provision for the monks and poor to be feasted, as usual at burials.

Another event greatly calculated to disturb the serenity of the monastic life was the advent of the friars. Both Black and Grey Friars had found their way to England in the early part of the century, and had filled the monkish mind with well-grounded alarm. How much the regular monks of this country approved of the importation may be gathered from the words used by one of them: "Oh dolor! O plus quam dolor! O pestis truculenta! Fratres Minores venerunt in Angliam!" And Matthew of Westminster says of them that "they were diligent instruments of the pope in all his affairs, sometimes

as messengers or legates, and always sedulous for his advantage. Neither were they slack in preaching, signing with the cross, and assisting the sick in making their wills; which employment did not a little hinder the monks both in point of profit and power." They had seven districts in England, each of which was governed by a provincial. Worcester was said to be the head of one of those districts, having the oversight of the friaries of Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Lichfield, Coventry, Stafford, Chester, Preston, and Lancaster. The Grey Friars' house at Worcester was on the site of the present city gaol, and the Black Friars establishment was at the back of Broad-street, within the city wall, overlooking the Butts, or ancient archery ground. Both institutions were said to have been of the foundation of Beauchamps earls of Warwick. The friars had long ere this become popular, and were formidable rivals to the parish priests and monks, whose foibles they failed not to expose so as to bring derision and contempt upon them. If we are to credit Chaucer, moreover, they were very pleasant fellows —wanton and merry: they had the power of confession, could sing and play well, knew all the taverns and tapsters, and were intimate with yeomen and women in town and country; so that supplies and entertainment were never wanting:—

"We give wool and cheese—our wives coyne and egges,
When freres flatter and prayse thyer proper legges."

The cathedral monks quarrelled with the Friars Minors in 1289 respecting the interment of Henry Poche, a citizen, whose body, although he had willed it to be buried with the friars, was secured soon after his death by the sacrist of the monastery and buried in the cathedral cemetery. Complaint

[DOMINICAN AND FRANCISCAN FRIARS.]

being made to the archbishop, who happened to belong to the order of friars, a command was sent down that Poche's body should be exhumed and given up. This not being done, the archbishop wrote again, peremptorily directing that the body should be taken up within fifteen days, or otherwise

the prior and convent to appear before him at his next court day, and to excommunicate all who had thrown down, abused, and trod upon the said friars when the corpse was taken from them. The bishop also made particular enquiry into the matter, and it appearing that it was the will of the deceased to be buried with the friars, the prior and convent consented to give up the body if the friars would come privately and take it away. It appears however that they went in triumph and escorted it with songs all through High-street. This circumstance is noticed by Matthew of Westminster, in alluding to Pope Nicholas IV., thus :—

> " O Nicholas, glory and renown
> And mirror of the Minor Brothers,
> Their honour lived in you alone,
> But now you're dead, is lost to th'others.

"And in his time the brothers of the order of Minors looked on the pope as the sun, and called the archbishop of Canterbury the moon, and so began to set up their horns over the whole world, sparing no order or rank in the province of England; for in a most pitiless manner, with great power and boldness, they attacked the monks and professors of the order of Father Benedict at Worcester and Westminster."

The monks of Worcester had been more than mortal if they had looked on the friars with complacency after the affair of Poche; but other indignities were awaiting them from the same quarter. Nine years later William de Beauchamp was pre-

vailed upon by a Friar Minor, who drew up his will, to order his interment, not in the cathedral, where his ancestors lay, but in the choir of their friary. In that will he bequeathed to them two great horses which at his funeral should carry his armour, and left £200 for solemnizing his interment. The friars then, as though to mortify the monks of the cathedral, made a procession in triumph, carrying the earl's body through the streets and lanes of the city, and then deposited it in ground wherein during the winter season (saith the monkish chronicler) it may rather be said to be drowned than interred—"in a spot wherein I have seen foul kitchen herbs grown." As if to make the abasement greater, this resting place of several of the Beauchamps was after the suppression turned into a skinner's yard. Moreover the Beauchamps had been the invariable and munificent patrons of the monks, until the friars supplanted them. That noble family had bequeathed money, vestments, and wax lights to burn before certain altars and shrines, and their bodies for ages had been deposited in the cathedral, with the De Cliffords, the Mortuo-Maris (Lechmeres), and others. How great then must have been the tribulation of the whole monastery when this defection was made a source of gain and triumph to their detested rivals. But this was not all. As if to show how completely

the star of the friars was in the ascendant, on the next election of a bishop by the monks, they having chosen John de Sancto Germano, one of their own number, and the election having been approved by the king, it was nevertheless set aside by the pope, who appointed a Franciscan friar instead.

About this time was admitted to the monastery of Worcester John of Dumbleton, who afterwards became prior of Little Malvern; and Walter of Worcester became abbot of Alcester. The last-named prior of Worcester, Simon, having resigned his office, John de la Wyke, sub-prior, was elected in his stead in 1301, and now fresh troubles were in store for the brotherhood. It has been already stated that on the death of Bishop Giffard the monks were disappointed in the election of a successor. The members of the monastery who were empowered to elect were Stephen de Wytton, sub-prior, William de Grimley, precentor, Gilbert de Madeley, sacrist, Henry de Antioch, Nicholas Norton, John de St. German, and Richard de Bromard; they chose John de St. German, but "for want of money," as the chronicler states, he failed with the pope, who appointed William de Gaynesbure, a Friar Minor, renowned for learning, and a strenuous asserter of popes' infallibility. The new prelate, having only been a poor friar, was without means to defray his journey, and wrote to the monks for

supplies; they sent him £20, but he constantly applied for further remittances, until at last the prior and convent refused. At length the bishop halted at Kempsey, and is said to have watched all night in the parish church there; he would however proceed no further in his journey till the prior came to him. The prior at last consented, though he was not compelled to go more than a mile according to ancient custom. A great procession of 700 horsemen, with the bishops of Hereford and Llandaff, and the abbots of Evesham, Pershore, and Tewkesbury, met the episcopal party at Red-hill (the old road to Kempsey probably ran round that way). The Friars Minors received the bishop at St. Wulstan's hospital in Wyld's-lane, where he alighted, and his palfry, saddle, cap, boots, leggings, &c., were demanded by Roger de Boudone on behalf of the archdeacon of Canterbury, also his cup, and ten marks for expenses.* Thereupon the bishop went barefoot up Sidbury and to St. Mary's Steps, by the great gate of the priory (Edgar Tower), and was received in the churchyard by the prior and convent. "The books (says Habingdon) disagree somewhat about his comming into the sanctuarie, one saying it was at the steps by the priorie gate, the other at the leech gate, one that he passed through St. Michael's

* Newly-elected bishops and abbots received money from their tenants to provide them with a horse, which was a fee they had to pay to the marshal upon doing homage to the king.

church into the quire,* the other as before is sett downe." Then the bishop, accompanied "with music of voices," went up to the high altar, adored and kissed it, and offered three pieces of cloth of gold, gave his benediction, and was enthroned. Passing into the vestry, he washed his feet, put on his shoes, and celebrated the mass of St. Wulstan, giving to the hearers an indulgence of forty days; after which, at his palace, he made a grand entertainment for those who had attended him. Thomas de Berkely was steward of the feast. Still it was apparent there was no cordiality between the monks and their new prelate. Again in pressing need of money, he applied to the king's almoner, to whom the prior and convent owed £100, and the almoner wrote to the prior and convent to pay over that amount to the bishop within a specified time or he would proceed against them. This order was no doubt complied with, as we hear no more of the matter.

It was probably during the vacancy of the see previous to the election of this bishop that the great question arose as to how far the right of the prior and convent extended to exercise episcopal duties *sede vacante*, and which led to the engendering of

* There is said to have been a covered way leading from the ancient clochium into the N. E. transept of the cathedral, and in an old engraving in the possession of Mr. Eaton there is the trace of a door arch under the window of that transept.

much strife and protracted litigation. Habingdon says that after the death of Bishop Godfrey, the prior, as commissary of the archbishop, "admitted, instituted, and inducted to churches and chantries parsons and vicars, with others of ecclesiasticall order presented to him by patrons and such as had authoritie in this large dioces; he tooke also resignations of rectories, he approved wills of the dead, and gave letters of administration; he receaved into the bishop's prison clerks convicted before ye king's justices, and by him-selfe or his deputies purged and delivered them; he performed all things belonging to the bishop savinge holy orders and such which, because they required higher authoritie, the prior licensed in severall vacancies bishops of other dioceses, given them faculties to confirme children, blesse altars, dedicate churches, and celebrate holy orders in this dioces. He visited religious houses in the dioces and in the citties of Worcester, Bristoll, Gloucester, Warwick, &c., and if they resisted his visitation they were subject to excom'nica'on, and thereupon had thyer fruits sequestred till doeing pennance they obtained absolution."

There was a large amount of patronage, besides procuration and other fees, accruing to the prior from exercising this right of performing the episcopal office. For instance, during the vacancy of the see, the earl of Gloucester paid to the prior

and convent of Worcester, as representatives of the bishop, two bucks and does, upon demand made by their attorney at the gate of his castle at Hanley, in pursuance of a composition made respecting a boundary ditch on Malvern hill. Any interference with privileges so agreeable and productive was therefore most stoutly contested. The monks of the subordinate houses, however, were not all disposed to succumb to the views of the prior of Worcester, and in the "Annales" it is recorded that when John the prior visited the convents of Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Winchcomb, and the canons of Cirencester, they with closed doors pertinaciously resisted, and their reason was because twice before in that year they had been visited. The abbots of Gloucester and Tewkesbury were the principal offenders, and although in 1303 they were condemned by the judges of the Arches Court for their rebellion, the right was still disputed. The prior's visitation was probably again opposed after the death of Bishop Gainsborough, for in 1309 the archbishop of Canterbury decreed in favour of the right of the prior of Worcester. Notwithstanding this authoritative decision, however, Gloucester still held out, and when Bishop Walter was translated to Canterbury in 1313 no doubt further opposition was shown, for I find by a loose parchment deed

of that date that a mandate of the prior of Worcester was issued to his "beloved in the LORD the abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester," requesting him to admit the said prior with becoming reverence on the Sabbath next after the feast of St. Lucy (Dec. 13). This was written on the 2nd of that month, and the abbot replied on the 8th, to the effect that he would obey the mandate—so far as he was bound by right and not otherwise, "saving always the right of ourselves and our monastery being safe." Cautious but determined was the abbot of Gloucester. Then follows a monition, in which the prior, reciting the fact that the abbot had refused to admit him in visitation on the day before-named by closing the gates of the monastery, gives him a threefold warning to "permit the office of visitation to proceed, as is incumbent of right, and that justice shall rejoice," threatening him, if he persisted in his refusal, with the major excommunication and citing him to appear at Worcester. The abbot was still refractory and the excommunication of Gloucester monastery was pronounced by the bishop,* at his court at Kempsey, in 1314; but it would seem that extremities were not resorted to, "some good men and lovers of unity mediating," whereby a com-

* Bishop Walter Maidstone was appointed to this see while the contest between the prior and the abbot was in progress.

position was agreed to between the parties and confirmed by Pope Clement, in which the rights of the prior were conceded, subject to certain formalities which had not been previously observed.

In the following century the same spirit of insubordination seems to have afflicted the monastery of Gloucester, or otherwise it was an attempt to escape from the burden of entertaining the bishop and his attendants, for I find Bishop Allcock writing to his "well-beloved brother the abbot of Gloucester," informing him that if he possessed an exemption or "privilege not to meet the bishop at his coming with processions and other reverentials, as all others in the diocese did, and as bounden by law," he was to be prepared to show the title for the said privilege to the bishop's counsel at his forthcoming visitation. And in a postscript the bishop thanks the prior (not the abbot) for the cheese he had sent him. This dispute was probably disposed of amicably, as no further mention is made of it.

From a general review of the history of the monastery it appears that the fertile sources of constant unhappiness among the brethren were disputations as to rights, privileges, and property. The bitter controversies between them and the bishops, the friars, and the citizens, at various times, are narrated in other portions of this work. In 1092 there was a dispute as to the cathedral being the

only parish church in the city, the chapels of St. Helen and St. Alban having objected to it, but on the confirmation of the cathedral right by St. Wulstan the said churches were acknowledged to be only vicarages under the mother church. A controversy arose in 1175 as to the patronage of All Saints, which was ended in the presence of the bishop "at the altar of St. Peter in cripta," that the patronage should remain with Osbert Fitz Hugh, brother of the baron of Burford, the convent to receive half a mark yearly; a similar enquiry as to St. Clement's belonging to the living of All Saints was decided by the bishop in favour of the monks. In 1200 the prior and sacrist had a disputation with the parson of Tredington concerning the chapel of Shipston; settled by the chaplain of Shipston being declared subject in canonical obedience to the rector of Tredington. Five years afterwards the tithes of Harvington, which belonged to the prior and convent, formed a considerable bone of contention, Sir Richard de Pippleton having disturbed their possession until made to renounce his title. In 1242, prior Gundicote and the abbot of Evesham could not agree as to the common of pasture in certain lordships, but this was settled for the abbot and his tenants to enjoy it from Christmas to Michaelmas and the prior and convent of Worcester for the other portion of the year. Then,

in 1292, Henry de Antioch, eleemosinary of the monastery, sued Richard Michem, rector of Icomb, for refusing to pay three marks yearly for the use of poor strangers coming to the monastery; defendant pleaded that only twenty shillings were due, and it was ruled in his favour. A dispute occurred in the reign of Edward I. between the prior and John de Grafton as to the advowson of the chapel of Grafton, and on the prior paying thirty-five marks John withdrew his claim. Richard, abbot of Bordesley, too, claimed certain tithes of land at King's Norton; settled by the said abbot paying the prior and convent of Worcester four shillings a year in lieu of the tithes; a similar disagreement with the incumbent of Wolverley was arranged by the incumbent paying to the monks three marks yearly, and to hold his church in the name of the monks; and another with the church of Osney was set at rest by Osney holding the church or chapel of Bibury and paying sixty shillings a year to the church of Worcester. In 1304 the master of St. Wulstan's hospital made complaint to the bishop that the prior and convent had taken away St. Wulstan's pastoral staff, which they had made use of from time to time in seeking and receiving charities from well disposed persons; whereupon the bishop wrote to the prior and convent requesting them to return the staff, but in reply they alleged

that the staff had not been out of their custody one hour since it first became theirs; they had permitted the hospital to take the oblations arising therefrom merely as an act of grace, but they would not submit to any claim as of right; besides which the master and brethren of the hospital had pretended to a right of sepulture to the prejudice of the mother church and had commenced a suit against them on that account. Probably this was the staff which was the instrument of a miracle, as narrated in page 28. More than a century later the master of the same hospital disputed with the prior and convent as to the duty of finding a priest to officiate in the chapel of Chaddeswick, where the hospital held lands belonging to the prior and convent. The right of the hospital to nominate was allowed, but the incumbent was to be presented to the prior and convent, and a certain arrangement made as to his pay. This controversy lasted a long time. In 1313 the prior and convent disputed with the nunnery of Westwood concerning the church of Dodderhill, which ended in favour of the former, Crutch manor being discharged from the payment of tithe, and it was thence esteemed extra-parochial. The prior and convent's right to Battenhall (given by Bishop Wulstan) was challenged by Simon de Ankerden in the fourteenth century; the cause, being heard at Bromsgrove, was decided in

favour of the prior and convent. A great riot took place at Shipston in the sixth year of Henry IV. with reference to heriots, and the question was ultimately referred to the abbot of Winchcomb, who determined that the prior and convent had from early times received at the death of every tenant the best animal, while the parson of Tredington received the second best. Lastly, in 1498 a great controversy took place at the Court of Rome as to whether the dead in the parish of Claines should be buried at that parish church or at Worcester cathedral, and it was decided to bury at Claines, on paying 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly to the prior of Worcester. The abbots of Evesham, too, were formidable to the priors of Worcester, and were generally successful, not only in disputes as to rights and territory, but in disclaiming any subordination to the priors, on the ground that they (the abbots) were subject only to the Court of Rome.

These are but a few specimens of the many litigations in which the monastery of Worcester managed to involve itself, but they are sufficient to prove that all could not be peace, tranquillity, and retirement from the cares of the world, where so many jealousies, cupidities, and contests for frivolous formalities, existed. Let us now return to the thread of our narrative.

In the fourteenth century the archbishop deprived

the monks of Worcester of the church of Dodderhill, but a few years afterwards it was restored to them by Bishop Walter, who had received the complaints of the prior and convent to the effect that "they had lost eight manors and five churches in the time of the wars and from the extortions of cunning men, and being subject to great expenses through the conflux of people about law and other matters, and from strangers coming to Worcester to pass over Severn, there being then no other bridge between Gloucester and Bridgnorth, whereby they were so much impoverished that without timely relief they must lessen the number of their fifty monks and retrench expenses." On the suppression of the Knights Templars the property of that body was in some instances assigned to the Knights of St. John and in others to religious houses. The prior and convent of Worcester reaped some advantage from this confiscation, as recorded by Nash, but the extent of it is not set forth, beyond the acquisition of Templars' Lawern.

In 1308, John Wyke, the prior, Robert de Dicleston and John de Aston, monks, and John Brevel, sacrist, were made penitentiaries by the bishop, to hear the confession of his "subjects" throughout the diocese.

The successor of John of the Wyke as prior was

Wolstan of Bransford, who signalised his tenure of office by erecting the Guesten-hall for the entertainment of visitors and holding courts—a building which has been only recently destroyed. In 1327 he was chosen by the monks to succeed Bishop Cobham in the see of Worcester, but the pope interposed in favour of Adam de Orlton, who however did little credit to his patron. Bishop Cobham, at his death, bequeathed a carpet of various work to put under the bishop's feet in the cathedral, and a jewel set in gold to hang at the high altar, also the mitre which had been given him by the archbishop of Canterbury, candlesticks, an image of the Virgin, a vase and aspersor for holy water.

The attempts of the monks to exercise their right of choosing a diocesan met with no success until the pope had presented two other of his own nominees to the see, namely, Simon de Montagu (who restored to the prior and convent the manor of Crowle, which had been taken from them) and Thomas Hemenhale. On the death of the latter, in 1338, they again chose Wolstan de Bransford, and for once were permitted to have their choice. The vacancy thus created in the office of prior was filled up by the appointment of Simon le Botiler, who died the same year (1339) and was followed by Simon Crompe, who gave way in the following year to John of Evesham. The latter was an as-

piring man, who sought to be elected bishop at the death of Wolstan de Bransford, but was compelled to withdraw his pretensions in favour of John de Thursby, the nominee of the pope. This prior's ambition likewise evinced itself in a love of display and rich decoration. Habingdon says:—

"This man honored first the priory of Worcester with ye mitar, for it is sett downe in the leiger of the rectories and appropriations and an other booke of the priorie, that Pope Clement by his bull granted John de Evesham, prior of Worcester, that he and his successors, priors of the church of Worcester, might use the mitar, ringe, staffe, cote, and tunicall, as they are pastorall enseigns, and give a solemne benediction at masse and at table, soe as at the giving of the benediction neyther the legate of the pope nor the bishop be there present. There are also in ye leiger of ye priorie *sede vacante* the priviledges of the prior's mitar thus expressed: 'First being in ye presence of the bishop in the cathedral church it selfe he may use a mitar fretted with gould, without pretious stones or iewells, and a staff not fashioned like a pastorall staff, with a ring and glove only, unlesse it happeneth in regard of the bishop's ill disposition of bodie or for any other cause, if the prior celebrateth masse although in the presence of the bishop he may use a riche mitar, a pastorall staff, and other pontificall enseignes, provided only yt there be apparent and notable difference between the richnes of the bishop's mitar and staff and the richnes of the prior's mitar and staff. Soe the bishop be not (?) present, the prior is licensed out of the cathedral church to use a riche mitar, pastorall staff, and other pontificall enseignes, with such a notable difference as is before mentioned. In the absence of the bishop it is granted him as well within as without it to use a riche mitar, pastorall staff, solemne tunicall, and other pontificall enseignes, without any restriction or limitation of difference.

For this noble ornament which John de Evesham gayned to himselfe and left to his successors priors of Wor. he is sett oute in ye north isle, siding ye quire, as a prior with two mitars, one on his head, an other in his left hand, and in his right a staff of authoritie, and written, 'Johannes de Evesham, prior, privilegiu' de mitra —— impetravit, ecclesiam de Overbury et Warrenam.' A brittle evidence of a glasse window, yet fortified with ye leigers aforesaid."

Pride and ambition usually bring their own punishment, and so in the case of Prior John, for in a MS. by Mr. Tomkins (in the possession of Sir Thomas Winnington) it is said—

"After ye miter was procured by Johannes de Evesham and ye prior of Worcester became lord prior, in some triennial visitations of the bishop of Worcester ye bishop's chancellor sate him down in ye prior's seat in ye quire, and ye prior was fain to take ye next stall, which was much stomached by ye lord prior, and great complaints made even to Rome."

During the priorate of John of Evesham the monastery of Worcester suffered in common with the rest of the kingdom from that awful and astounding visitation of Providence, the great plague, or black death of 1349, the virulence of which may be estimated from the fact that in the abbey of Newenham, in the west of England, out of a hundred and eleven inmates only the abbot and two monks survived! In London fifty thousand persons died, and in many towns all the inhabitants perished except those who fled. This frightful scourge carried off so many of the

inhabitants of Worcester as to render it unsafe to admit further interments in the cathedral cemetery, and the citizens obtained leave of the bishop to bury at St. Oswald's, outside the north suburb. The county generally was so wasted by "the black death" that the monks could scarcely procure tenants to inhabit their desolate manors, and the monastery itself became partly ruinous, so that the pope was compelled to appropriate certain parsonages to help the fraternity in their distress. The history of the time is replete with accounts of comets, fiery beams, and other strange sights in the air. Great numbers of animals perished, famine resulted, and the few remaining of the labouring population raised their rate of wages so considerably that although a statute was passed for the old rate to be paid, the employers of labour—abbots, priors, and others—found the law of demand and supply more potent than acts of parliament and were compelled to pay what was required, many being fined for disobedience on this account.

In the nineteenth of Henry III. that king visited Worcester, on which occasion Robert de Weston, cellarer of the monastery, accounts for 2*s.* given to the minstrels of Lord Edmund de Hereford and for many things purchased for and presents made to the "families" (suite and attendants) of the

lord prince and of Arundel and Warren, noblemen in his company, including a lamp bought for half-a-crown on the vigil of Palm Sunday.

Soon after this occurred a most serious *emeute* between the monks and citizens with respect to the privilege of sanctuary. The limits of that hallowed circle around the cathedral which was a privileged place for criminals to take refuge in have been defined in another part of this volume, wherein are described the cathedral and monastic buildings. Egwin, the third bishop of the Wiccii, is said to have first obtained this privilege of sanctuary at Worcester from Pope Constantine, while visiting Rome in company with the king of Mercia in the year 712, the alleged object being to render the monastery more secure from the irruption of wicked men—a purpose however which notoriously failed, as Matthew Paris informs us:—

"When any fugitive (says he) has had recourse to the privilege of seeking an asylum in a church, the cemetery or the staircase of the church is surrounded and guarded by laymen, so that the fugitive can with difficulty be furnished with food by the church. Sometimes he is torn thence by violence; sometimes, after he has made oath, according to the law of the land and the custom of the kingdom, to go into exile within the next forty days, he is seized on the public road by men placed in ambush, and then he is hanged, or sometimes killed in a damnable manner."

The historian's assertion is confirmed by what

took place at Worcester in 1302, as related by the writer of the "Annales:"—

"After Christmas a certain person, disgraced, and in the city of Worcester incarcerated, fled to the cathedral church, whom men of blood and craft called to the exterior houses of the cemetery, and, in order that he might not return to the church, made fast the door verging on the cemetery, whom (the men of blood), a third admonition having been sent forward, the sacrist with three companions publicly denounced to be excommunicated if they did not desist from this folly. After these things they bound his feet with iron fetters, and used the custody of many who might beat him in turns and guard him that he might not escape; whom, thus afflicted, they compelled in the same place to abjure the land and the kingdom. Then the bailiffs of the city, Richard Colys and Adam de Pirie, stood forth, who for this offence coming with their officers swore to stand by the mandates of the church; and on the 3rd nones of February, after the procession, (the men) did penance at the gate of the church."

The consequences of the *emeute* of 1349 were however much more serious, as I find it recorded in Habingdon's manuscript:—

"Placita inter priorem et villam. The pleadings betweene ye priorie and ye towne of Wor. in the years of Ed. King of England ye 22 and of France ye 9th. The king reciting the tenor of ye record and processe of ye pleading, which was before William de Shreshull, Robert de Bracie, Will. de Cheltenham, and Andrew Folliott, justices, for hearing and determining ye transgressions committed against John prior of Wor. Whereas ye church of Wor. it self, being of a royall advowson, was founded by his auncestors and progenitors kings of England with thyer patrimonies and almes and strengthened with divers liber-

ties, and ye church with ye hole precincts apparently scituate within the hundred of Oswaldlowe and ye libertie annexed to ye church, Simon Gros and Roger le Tavernier, bayliffs of the cittie of Wor., and ye comunaltie gathred together with an unaccustomed clamor (the riott was in crastino Exaltac'on Sanctæ Crucis, 22 Edw. 3) exceeded the bounds of ye towne of Wor. and coming with force and armes and with a furious assault took and carried away the bodie of John ye sonne of Will. Carter, who was killed in the churchyard, not expecting ye coroner of the towne of Wor. and then committed ye bodie to eccl'iall buriall, and divers times with usurpation assumed the hearing of pleas as well of the Crowne as others wh. appertained to ye priorie (the bayliffs distrained in houses within the hundred of Oswaldslaw), made these executions of thyer own offices, and drew to them-selfs ye liberties of ye church of Wor. wh. are far more aunciente then ye liberties of ye towne of Wor. And moreover Will. Verney and others (namely there expressed and amounting to the number of threescore and ten) togeather with ye comunaltie of ye said cittie of Wor. and certain others comming in warlike manner with armes unto ye church and priorie, broke ye gates of ye priorie, made assaults on the prior's servants and beate and wounded them in such sorte as they were in despaire of life (eight of ye prior's men soe hurt as they could do no service of half an yeare); and with bowes and arrows and other offensive weapons pursued ye prior and the monks, labouring as much as they could without breach of peace to defend themselfs, ye church, and priorie, and terriblie beseigeing the monastrie with fier wh. they brought, endeavoring to burne it, and fished the ponds of ye priorie in Bedwardine and Hallow, takeing thence piks, breams, perches, and roches, to a greate value, and comming to ye prior's warren in Hallowe did without his licence take 60 hares and 200 conyes and brought them to ye fishes. All which these justices were ordained to heare and determine according to the lawes and statutes of the kingdome enacted to the contrarie for conservation of ye peace. A writt of venire facies was hereupon directed to

ye sherriff to bring Simon Gros and others to answer, and to return 18 good and lawfull men to enquier upon thyer oathes of these trespasses, at Kidderminster, on Friday next after the feast of the circumcision of our LORD. Simon Gros of Wor. was attached at Kidderminster by Robert at Clee and Simon le Chandeler, and bailed by William Cassie and John Kidderminster. Roger le Taverner, ye other bayliff of Wor. was attached by William de Newarcke and Richard le Lokyer, and bailed by Richard Pulle and Will. Powicke. This proces was continued at Wolverley on Munday next before ye Epiphanie of our LD. and so adjourned to Betecote till Wenesday the next day after ye Epiphanie, and ye sherriff commanded to bring them to an exigent (because they were not to be found) fro' one countie day to an other untill according to lawe they were outlawed, so as he may have thyer bodies at Shipston upon Stowre on Thursday in Whitsunday weeke. After came Simon (Gros he meaneth) before Will. de Shareshull at Westminster and found sufficient suerties to appear before ye same William at ye said day and place to answer the prior. His sureties were Will. le Carter, John de Shelve, Will. de Lench, of Evisham, and Richard Cokesey of ye countie afoiesaid. (I mention these as men of worth then in this shire, and Will. le Carter as a man of especiall accompt in this cittie). Many others of ye comunaltie of Wor. because they appeared not at the countie court of this shire 23 Edw. 3, were at the fouer counties next precedent in the presence of Richard de Lenche and Edmond de Dunclent our lord ye king's coroners, outlawed. Roger le Taverner, bayliff of Wor. submitted himselfe to prison in the custody of ye sherriff, being then Peter de Grete; Gilbert de Havehunt and ten others being committed, died in prison; John at Marsh and 8 others languished so with sickness in the gaole as without dainger of death they could not travaile, but ye shreef returned the bodie of Roger le Taverner and others before the justices, and ye sherriff was commanded to attach ye comunaltie to be before the justices at Shipston upon Stowre on ye Saturday in Whitesonday weeke, and bring withall the

bodies of them who languished in prison, but these who languished died also all in prison. The cause of this greate death was (I thinke) ye plague, wh. aboute this time so raged in England as scarse ye tenth person was left a live. *Placita apud Shipston*, &c. The pleadings at Shipston upon Stowre before Will. de Shureshull and Andrew Foliot ye king's justices on Thursday in ye Whitesonday weeke 23 Edw. 3. The foresd. bayliffs, Simon Gros and Roger le Taverner, with divers others, and Will. de Everly, lord of Spetchly, were attached to answer John prior of Wor. for the aforesaid trespasses. The bayliffs, with Will. Verney and others, denied all besides the takeing and carrieing away ye bodie of John ye sonne of Will. Carter. The bayliffs moreover saied that ye bayliffs of Wor. and comunaltie of ye same cittie held in fee farme of our ld. the king yt now is, and his heires, by ye charters and graunts of ye auncestors and p'genitors of our said ld. ye king and ye confirmations of ye same ld. our king, and have herein contained divers liberties, as ye hearing of pleas, ye return of writs, and one coroner to be chosen by them-selfes to do and exercise all and singular matters wh. appertaine to the office of coroner in ye same cittie, and within the liberties thereof, so as no shereef, coroner, or other bayliff or any other minister for ye king, can exercise or execute any office there but in default of ye bayliffs themselfs and thyer coroner, and saied yt the aforenamed churchyard wherein ye prior supposeth this trespasse is without ye hundred of Oswaldslaw, and because the same John, sonne of Will. Carter was killed within the libertie of ye cittie of Wor., the bayliffs with thyer coroner, did in peace accomplish what appertained to the office of a coroner, and after the bayliffs and friends of ye dead caused the bodie to be carried away and buried. And Will. Verney and others answered in ye same manner; and as to ye fishing in Bedwardine and Hallowe, they replied yt these places time out of minde were common to all persons of this cittie and others to fish at thyer pleasures, etc, and desier judgement. But ye prior nevertheless constantlie affirmed all these to be trespasses and transgressions of the

bayliffs, Will. Verney and the rest, without yt ye churchyard and place where ye bodie of John ye sonne of Will. Carter was killed and found or any parte of ye churchyard was within ye liberties of ye cittie of Wor. and those places where Will. Verney and others fished are and were time out of mynde the separated ponds of ye prior and his predecessors. And ye jurie after impanelled delivered on thyer oathes, that ye churchyard and places aforesaied were within the hundred of Oswaldslawe and without the libertie of ye cittie of Wor., and the places where Will. Verney and ye others fished were time out of mynde separated ponds, and yt ye bayliffs, Will. Verney, and ye rest, were guiltie of two trespasses, as ye prior afore alleaged, to ye damage of £100. 12*s*."

These riotous outbreaks against monasteries were not peculiar to Worcester, for I find that at Bury in 1327 a mob took possession of the abbey and kept it for three months, destroying a great part of the building; likewise at Sherborne, Dorsetshire,* in the fifteenth century, the monks and townsmen fell at variance in regard to the sacrament of baptism being administered in their church, on which occasion the sacred building was fired.

John of Evesham, the prior, whose ambition and vanity have already been remarked, must not be dismissed without some notice of a still darker phase of his life and character. Among the loose parchment records of the monastery is a mandate from Cardinal Guillermus, dated 1365, directed to the sub-prior of Worcester monastery, to the effect that, having heard the charges against prior John,

* The author's native place.

and the confessions and supplications of the said prior (involving such crimes as laying violent hands on his brethren, carrying arms, playing dice and other unlawful games, entering taverns and other places forbidden and dishonest, celebrating divine offices to excommunicated persons, collecting tithes and other impositions and not paying the proper salaries of officers, transgressing statutes, mandates, &c.), he, the said sub-prior, was authorised and empowered to suspend or absolve the prior, as the case might require.

The state of morals generally in religious houses was now a cause of great scandal. It is on record that the monks of Great and Little Malvern were "vagabunde and lyved lyck laymen to the pernicious example of all cristen men," and the bishop's monition to the nuns in his diocese in 1365, charging them with wearing improper dress, licentious manners, and conversation with men by day and night, discloses a sad lack of discipline and morality. We also know, from a document of the close of the thirteenth century, in reference to an adjoining diocese, and which has been so admirably edited by the Rev. J. Webb, that the chief troubles of Bishop Swinfield's life were the misrule and disorders of the religious houses of Wigmore and Leominster.

Prior John died in 1370, and the monks elected their almoner, Walter Legh, to succeed him.

The monastery was again at this time greatly oppressed both by pope and king. Nash records that Sir John Beauchamp, of Holt, in his younger years received a largess from the priory of Worcester, which he afterwards gratefully requited, for being made a steward of the household to Richard II., he protected the prior and monks in those troublous times from the oppression of the king's servants, bailiffs, and purveyors. At his death he left his money and plate to the prior and monks, but the king's sergeant-at-arms demanded these things, and they were conveyed to London. In the time of Bishop Giffard the prior and convent had petitioned against the custom of the king's bailiff seizing on the movable goods belonging to them, as of right belonging to the king when the priory was vacant; and they succeeded on that occasion.

Three years after Walter Legh's election as prior, the monks sought to elevate him to the episcopal seat, and although the king concurred, the pope again overruled the election. Habingdon says :—

"The sub-prior of Wor., ye elemosinarius, ye cellararius, ye precentor, ye coquinarius, and all ye monks of ye chapter of ye church of Wor. did elect Walter Legh to be bishop of Wor. in ye presence of Mr. Robert de la More, learned in ye law, John Bransford, priest, and William Halet, clerk, of Wor., and of ye dioces of Lincolne, witnesses, and Raynould de Seggeburie, a publick notarie, Mr. Tho. Lench, John de Dunclent,

and John Hale, parson of ye church of St. Clement's in Wor., all testifieing ye same 4 Decemb. An. D. 1373, which notwithstanding vanished to nothing."

The see remained vacant two years, during which time the prior and convent exercised all the rights of the bishop. John Wicliff, the famous reformer, sought to obtain the bishopric, it is said, but the pope preferred Henry Wakefield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Wicliff began to lay the foundation of his new doctrines in the church. The registers of this see abound with notices of the persecution dealt out to the Lollards at this time, proving that the seed sown had already brought forth much fruit. Indeed the "heresy" was thought sufficiently formidable in the diocese of Worcester for a special visit of the archbishop of Canterbury, who arrived here Oct. 12, 1384. The inquisition made by him has not been recorded, but it appears that three years later the bishop sent out a mandate enjoining his clergy not to suffer any of the heretics to preach in his diocese, and particularly naming N. Hereford, J. Ashton, J. Perney, J. Parker, and R. Swynderby, "who, under the show of great sanctity, with honey in their words but venom under their lips, have sown tares among the wheat of Christ's flock, damnable heresies against the true faith, and subverted the tranquillity of the realm, publicly and secretly, in halls, chambers, and gardens." The conster-

nation of the monks and clergy when the dawn of the reformation began to expose their vices to the world must have been excessive, nor could they have been insensible to the use of such weapons as the keen satire of a Chaucer or a Piers Plowman,* co-workers with Wicliff in regenerating the church and in dissipating the gross ignorance of the people.

Bishop Wakefield held a controversy with his prior (John Green, who had succeeded Legh in 1388, having been previously infirmarer), respecting the use of the mitre, ring, gloves, pastoral staff, tunic, and dalmatic, which ornaments, it will be remembered, had first been granted by Clement VI. in 1350 and confirmed by Urban V. in 1363. The bishop however would not admit the right, and the archbishop exhorting the prior to submit, an arrangement was made that the prior might wear in the bishop's presence his mitre fringed with gold, but without gems and precious stones, as also his ring, but no pastoral staff. In his absence he might wear his mitre, adorned with precious stones, ring, gloves, tunic, dalmatic, and pastoral staff (on condition that the staff should be shorter than the bishop's, and painted white and blue, without gold or gems), also might give his blessing at mass and table. Such frivolities were serious matters among

* Supposed to have been John or Robert Longland, a monk of Malvern or Worcester.

the ecclesiastics of those days, who seem to have thought but little of the SAVIOUR'S injunction to take the lowest place. When abbots began to wear the mitre the bishops complained bitterly that their privileges were invaded by monks, and above all they were shocked at no distinction existing between them in the councils and synods. The pope ordered that abbots should wear the mitre embroidered with gold only, and leave precious stones for the bishops, but this was not observed.

The sacrist of the monastery, John of Malvern, succeeded John Green as prior in 1395. He was one of the English divines who were sent to the council of Constance in 1414, and, except with respect to the growing spirit of "heresy," no extraordinary troubles seem to have beset his rule. Nor indeed is there anything remarkable to record of that period except that for once the monks were permitted to choose their own bishop (Clifford, 1401), during whose prelacy, in 1404, the archbishop of Canterbury held a synod at Worcester, when one of the acts established was that the obsequies of every English bishop deceased should be celebrated in all the cathedrals of the kingdom.

Worcester was burnt and plundered by Owen Glendower's troops in 1401, but the monastery and cathedral escaped destruction, the king driving the insurgents into Wales. The city suffered many

reverses during the sanguinary struggle between York and Lancaster, but the effects were not so damaging to its religious establishment as to require special note. There are however some documents connecting the prior and convent with that mournful period of our history which must not be passed over. In 1459 Henry VI. was at Worcester, from whence he sent offers of pardon to the earl of Warwick's party, which were refused, and in the following year a letter dated June, 1460, was sent by the king to the prior of Worcester, which, after noticing a report "that traytors and rebelles which late made presumptuous insurrection intend further to extend thyer malice upon us," also "hasty tydyngs be come unto us that our ancient ennemyes of Fraunce have made great assemblyes of peple purposing to take an entreprice within these reaulms," requests the prior and monastery to send a hundred marks by the bearer. This was dated "at our monastery of Coventry." Another letter from Coventry was sent in the same month of June, thanking the Worcester prior and convent for their loyalty and good disposition; "and forasmuch as hasty tydings have come unto us for certeyn that grete traytours and rebells been now areyned within our countie of Kent, purposing to extend theyr malice ageynst us, we request you to sende ye saide money by the bringer who shal bringe you our l'trs patent for

repayment." Then follow proclamations against the rebels, and an indenture between Dan John Smethwyke, cellarer of the monastery of Worcester, and Edward Ellesmere, the said Dan John, on behalf of the prior and convent, agreeing to pay £40 to the king by the 26th of July, taking a patent for repayment, according to an act of council lately made; and Edward Ellesmere promised to Dan John that if he, at the time of the said payment, would surrender unto the lord treasurer a debenture of £10 owing unto the said prior of Worcester for certain oxen taken for the use of the king in his journey towards Ludlow, and a debenture for a horse, price 66*s.* 8*d.*, taken of the said Dan John for the king, the said patent for repayment should be by so much increased as the said debentures came to.

The rebellion of the house of York was successful: Henry was deposed, and the Prince of York crowned as Edward IV., in the second year of whose reign comes the following missive to the prior and convent of Worcester:—

"To the dere in GOD our right trustie and welbeloved the prior of the cathedral churche of our Ladie of Worcester: whereas oure grete adversarie Henre naming himself kinge of Englande, by malicious counsell of Margaret hys wyfe, naming herselfe queene of Englande, hathe conspyred with oure outwarde enemyes as well of Fraunce and Scotlande as of other dyvers countryes that oure seyd outwarde enemyes

in grete nombre shal in all hast enter in this our realme to make in the same such cruell, horible, and mortel warre, depoplation, robery, and manslaughter, as hereafore hath not ben used among cristen peple, and that then his uncle called Charles de Angeo with other Frenchmen shal have the domination, rule, and governaunce, of this realme; and hath graunted to oure adversarie Lewys de Valois a release of the ryght and tytle that ye crowne of Englande hath unto the realme and crowne of Fraunce, &c., and graunted to the Scots not onlie the towne and castell of Berewyk but alsoe a grete parte of this our realme of England, we desire and pray you to call together those persons mencyoned in these instruccons and praye them with such gentell language and wordes of benevolence as shalbe thot to you behoveful, to showe thyer goode willes in preservyng the reaulme from utter distruccon, and to rayse monye, and in a fewe days wee hope to showe them that they never herebefore better spendet anye monye.

"Dated at Stamford, ye thirteenth of Marche, in ye second yere of our rayne."

The instructions were to the following effect:—

"Call alle youre brethren of youre order of yower place and alle other persons as well howseolders and other servantes as other dwellers and inhabytants wythin ye precyncks of the aige of syxteene yeres and uppwards and rede these l'trs and have thyer names riten on a booke. Exammin eche severallie and understonde what hee wol gyve untoe us in this grete peryll and necessitie. Not to compelle anie, but onlie of thyer free willes knowynge the grete charges you have alredy bin put to. Appointe a colector or receyver and sende one of ye bookes to our cittie of London that wee may knowe the behavinge and meritts of everie mon. And lastlie, deliver alle such sums in goodlie haste to oure councill."

A communication was subsequently received from the king in which he acknowledges their

"faithfull and trew heart and towardnes," and dates from the castle of Pomfret Oct. 27. But in the following March (24th) the king writes "from our castle of Hereford," for more money, to help in the reduction of the castle of (Hardlagh ?*) and for our town of (Halas ?*)"

In a compotus roll of Worcester monastery of the date of the same king's reign appears an account of a composition for the king's household and certain princes and dukes, probably during a temporary stay in this city :—

"Et computat dat famulis d'm. reg's regine principis ducum Clarencie et Glowcestre et alior. d'nor. et magnat. p' temp. compo'i. xviij*li.* xij*s.* viij*d.* Et in don. dat. d'vs minstrall. d'm reg's regi'e principis duc' Clarencie Glowcestre et alior. d'nor. et magnat. xi*li.* viij*s.* vi*d.*"

In February, 1467, a letter was received from Edward IV., then at Coventry, requesting the prior of Worcester to send him 100 marks by bearer, his majesty "having fully appointed to sett a mighty navie upon the sea."

There is no further trace of the connection between the city or monastery and the wars of the roses until their termination at the battle of Bosworth, when Worcester was seized by Henry VII. Many citizens were beheaded at the high cross, opposite the Guildhall, and five hundred marks were paid for

* These words are very indistinct in the MS.

redemption. The city likewise had a narrow escape from being taken in Sir Humphrey Stafford's subsequent rebellion.

Prior John of Malvern was succeeded by John Fordam in 1423. Habingdon says:—

"At this time was a covenant betweene the bayliffs with ye comunaltie of Wor. on ye one parte and ye priorie of Wor. on ye other, concerning ye conveyance of ye water fro' thyer conduits head to ye monasterie, wh. was thus, but somewhat abridged. Richard Oseney and William Boghton, ye bayliffs of our ld. ye king for ye cittie of Wor., Walter Docking and Will. Miles, aldermen of ye cittie, John Wood, Thomas Hewster, Robert Helme, Thom. Swyney, Henrie Newdik, and others, with ye whole comunaltie of ye cittie, saving the king's right, do grant to John Fordam, prior of Wor. and to ye convent, and thyer successors for ever, this libertie, yt they may as often as it is necessarie use, enioy, lay, and amend thyer conveyances of water under grownd with thyer pipes as well of wood as lead in ye king's high-way and the streete leading before ye cotages of ye prior and convent in ye suburbs of Wor. neere ye castle ditch wh. John Feckenham, shooemaker held, and wh. is and are opposite to ye towne ditch of Wor. under ye castell there extending fro' thence within the cittie to the priorie gate and land of ye prior and co'vent, according as it is limited and devided, provided always yt if ye prior, convent, and thyer successors, shall doe any harme or harme shall happen to be done aboute ye amending, lodging, diggind, and making of yt waterworke, then ye prior and convent shall after reasonable warning given at thyer owne charges repaire what is defective and for ever mentaine ye king's highway over the water-worke. And ye prior, convent, and thyer successors, shall for this graunt pay to ye bayliffs and thyer successors a red rose at the feast of ye nativity of S. John ye Baptist. Dated at Wor. in ye hi-hall of ye said cittie, at ye view of franck-pledg there

holden on Monday next after the feast of S. Michaell 12 Hen. 6. Richard Oseney, at ye time high bayliff of Wor. was a greate benefactor to ye priorie, binding himselfe to be of thyer counsell and to become thyer tenant for rents out of his house in Brodestreete, in Freren streete, in ye high streete, and for his medow without Sydburie, called Tallewardines, where the prior's pipes for water did lye, out of a shoppe in ye front of his house neere his gate named Elgwins, and for a garden neere Frogmulle, for ye field neere Dydley (Diglis), and for all these he obligeth himselfe, his heires, etc, by a deed confirmed with ye seale of the office of ye bayliffs of Wor. 12 Hen. 6. Neyther thus ended ye charritie of the renowned cittizen, for it followeth: Richard Oseney and Agnes his wife graunt to the prior and convent of Wor. libertie for thyer conveyance of water to passe by pipes, etc., in Oseney's medow without Sudburie, called Tallewardines, extending fro' ye king's high way unto a water wh. runneth towards Frogmell, in ye suburbe, with condition fro' ye priorie to repaire ye damages wh. may happen to ye grownd by digging, etc. And ye prior and convent graunt yt they will after thyer death receave thyer bodies to be buried within ye cathedral church in the tombe wh. is under ye stone or monument of Matild Oseney, neere St. George's chappell, payeing therefore to ye sacrist of ye church 6*s.* 8*d.*, to ye clerks for ringing the bells 6*s.* 8*d.*, and to ye convent for a masse of requiem 6*s.* Confirmed with ye seale of ye office of bayliffs of Wor. 12 Hen. 6. And the prior and convent of Wor. covenant with Rich. Oseney and Agnes his wife to pray for them, and in thyer suffrages to remember them as thyer speciall benefactors, and after thyer deathes on ye anniversarie day of Thom. Carter, when they have in ye masse e. m. thyer memento remembred ye soules of Thomas Carter, with William, Henrie, and Allan Carter, they shall immediatly in like manner in thyer prayers commend ye soules of ye saied Richard and Agnes. All wh. was on both sides confirmed with thyer seales and ye seale of ye office of ye bayliffs of Wor. 12 Hen. 6. This appeareth in ye registrie *sede vacante.* You may see here and before in ye poore name of Carter, and

after in Mercer ld. of Batenhall, both cittizens of Wor. and famous in thyer ages, how men innoblish thyer names where others noble in name blemish thyer nobilitie. But we reade ye like in Rome, where the names of Agricola, Fabius, Cicero, derived fro' ye plow, beanes, and pease, filled ye wordle with praise. I will retire to our cittie of Wor., an angle of England, and these our cittizens who were more pretious in ye sight of GOD than ye aforenamed Romains, and come to Richard Oseney, who was a gentleman as well as a cittizen, wh. appeareth in a murall monument in St. Alban's Church in Wor. where one of his familie named Tho. Oseney is sett out as a cittizen, yet with his armes of gentrie being sables a fesse imbattled argent, wh. armes being also in the quier of ye priorie of greate Malverne, shew yt Oseney was a benefactor also to yt monasterie. I began in the late recitall of our auncient cittizens with Oseney and ende with Newdik (yet more followed whom I omitted) but I mentioned Newdik because yt name hath continued with us to our days, wh. Newdyk's Court in the high streete of Wor. witnesseth. The conduits wh. before this served ye priorie had thyer foundations betweene Wor. and Hallow, and fro' Henwyke and Hulton streete ye pipes for conveyance of water had thyer passage over Wor. bridge and through ye cittie to ye priorie, as appeareth by ye king's confirma'on 8. Hen 4. The other conduits beiond Sydburie have been neglected and are now almost forgotten."

These conduits beyond Sidbury were the ancient aqueducts from the moors in the prior's park at Battenhall, but these, it seems, not being sufficient for the purpose required, "another was thought of from a spring above Hardwick Court, St. John's, in the grounds near St. John's green, called 'Swanpool;'" but ultimately a more plentiful supply was obtained from a spring at Henwick Hill, which

was continued till the time of the civil wars, when the pipes were torn up, probably to cast bullets. A *quid pro quo* for this privilege granted to the prior and convent was a concession made by them to the bailiffs (mayors) of the city conveyed in the following document, which bears date 1461, but appears to be a confirmation of a previous one as old as that by which the privilege of the water pipes was given:—

"Thys indenture made betwene the prior and convent of the monasterie of the cathedrall churche of our Ladie of Wyrecester on the oon parte and the bailiffes and comonaltie of the cytie of Wyrecester on the other parte witnesses that ye saide prior and convent have gyven lycense and graunted to ye saide bailiffes and comonaltye that the saide bailiffes and thyer successors bailiffes of the seyd cyttie and everyche of the same bailiffes for theyr wurship and honor shal have thyer maces borne afore them by theyr serjeaunts when they comyn in the seyd monastrie and cathedrall churche, and within ye same monasterye, church, and cemeterie of the seyd prior and convent called Seynt Mary Churchay * and within Seynt John's. Also theyre serjeaunts may bear thyer maces under theyr gurdull yef they woll within ye same monastrie, church, and cemetrye, and Seynt Jones afore written in ye absence of thyer maisters. And for as moche as ye seyd monastrye, church, cemetrye, and Seynt Jones ben clearly within ye ffrauncheys, jurisdiccon, and libertie of the seyd citte, and that the bayliffs of ye seyd cyttie nor non of theyr officers nor ministers of the seid citty have no maner power nor auctorite ner nev'r hadde to make an arest or doe anie other execution by longying to anie of theyr offices within ye monastrye, church, cemeterie, or Seynt Jones, the saide bailiffes and comonaltye of the saide cyttie graunten and per-

* Church hay—hay or grass grown in the cemetery.

mytten to the seid prior and convent that yf hereafter eny s'jt of the seyd cytie arest or doe anie other execution by coloure of hys office within ye saide monasterie, churche, cemiterie, or S. Johnes that then the bayliffs of ye saide cytie at that time being shal take awaie the mace from ye seid s'jt and that ye same s'jt shal niver be s'jt nor bearen mace within ye seyd cytie afterward. And if there be anie arest or execucon done withyn ye seid monasterie, church, cemitrye, or St. John's, by anie of ye bailiffs of ye seyd cytie for ye tyme being by coloure of his office or by eny s'jt or other by his comaundement, and that dulie proved afore ye subprior and celerer of ye seyd monastrie for the time being and fower of theyr brethren, monks of ye seid monastrye, by them thereto chosen, and afore the ij aldermen of the seid cyttie for ye tyme being and fower of the worthiest of ye cittizens of the seyd citty by the seid aldermen also therto chosen, if the seid aldermen and foure cittizens be so chosen and will therto atend with that they have thereof warninge by the space of seven daies, and if not then the dew proofe thereof made and had afore the seyd subprior and celerer and thyer foure brethren, that then non of the seid bayliffs of the seid cyttie for the tyme being shal niver have thereafter anie maces borne afore them within the seyd monastrye, churche, cemetrye, or Seynt Jones, nor none of thyer s'jts to have the maces borne under theyr gurdull nor openlie within the seyd monasterie, church, cemetrye, or St. John's. In witnes whereof to the toon part of this indenture remayninge to the seyd bailiffes and comonaltye the seyd prior and convent have put to theyr co'vent seale, and to the other parte of ye same indenture remayninge to the seyd prior and convent the seyd bayliffs and comonaltye have put to thyer comon seale, these witnessing, Maister John Carpenter, then being byshop of the diocese of Worcester, Thomas Lytylton s'jt at lawe, Walter Skull Knt., Thos. Throckmorton, Thos. Everdon, Humphrey Salwey, with manie other. Geven at Worcester twentie daie of Januarie the yeere and rayne of King Edward, fowrth after the conquest, the ffyrst."

In the year 1437 heavy and long-continued rains

throughout the country so ruined the crops as to evoke all the means at the disposal of the monastery to avert the famine, and chiefly the relics of saints were carried about in solemn procession, with dirge and litany. At Worcester the remains of St. Oswald were thus applied, to deprecate the wrath of heaven, but for what reason the relics of St. Wulstan were not similarly employed does not appear. Surely the archbishop could not have been ignorant of his great reputation as a saint and a worker of miracles; yet here is the mandate received by the prior and convent of Worcester in the above year, as may be seen in the great "Liber Albus" of the monastery:—

"Trustie and welbeloved in GOD we grete you wel. And forasmuche as hit hath lyked oure blessed Creatoure to sende such reynes and flodes nowe of longe tyme during the which withouten hys mercie and grace we lyke to torne in to gret hyndryng we seyng daylie the pytense destruccon of cornes on the erthe ye grete lamentacons of the pepell therfore, and alsoe that remedie herof ys to be sought unto GOD oure blessed redempt'r by humble and devoute prayers and processions wol and p'y you that ye w'th solempne procession doe ordein the shrine of Seynt Oswalde to be borne in lyke wise as we byn enformed that hyt hath byn afore this tyme for cessying of such continuel reyne. And in this you shal doe us singulier pleasir. Gyven under our signet at Aylesburie ye thirteen daye of September."

[There is no signature, but the letter was more probably from the archbishop than the king.]

Two other forms of misdirected piety appear to

have prevailed at Worcester in this century, namely, hermit life and vowed chastity. The caves on the banks of Severn (at Redstone, Astley, Blackstone near Bewdley), and many other places in this county, bear testimony to the asceticism in which they had their origin.

"Aged the sires who dwelled such caves within—
Head-shaking sages prone to moralize
And him disciple who there made his inn.
Their cheeks were hollow, slender was their size,
And ever on the ground they bent their eyes.
One book they had—the book of holy lore.
Against the wall the cross stood leaning-wise.
A table small, a skull and cross-bones bore;
And bosky ivy hid the bell above the door."

Thomas Polton, bishop of Worcester in 1431, licensed Richard Spechley (probably Richard of Spetchley, a monk) to be a hermit. These licenses were as much a matter of episcopal business as were the presentations to livings; indeed there were licensed beggars in the sixteenth century, as appears in prior Moore's book by the following entries:—

"Mem. that Rd. Burgyn of Crowle, for a reasonabull consideracione is licensed to begge* w'tyn the hundred of Oswalds

* At a later period licenses to beg were granted by the justices of the peace in accordance with Acts of Parliament passed in the 22nd year of Henry VIII., and in the 5th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (cap. 3), which provided that if any parish had in it more impotent poor persons than it was able to relieve, then the justices of the peace of the county might license so many of them as they should think good, to beg, in one or more hundreds of the same county.

lawe in ye countie of Wircester. Gyffen under ye seale of oure lymytt the —— daye of July in ye xxiij yere of King Henry Eight, p' me Willm. More."

"For making of a seale for Oswaldslow hundred concerning beggars to have auctorite to begge, xij*d*."

The vow taken by Richard Spechley when he became a hermit was as follows:—

"I Rd. Spechysley sengleman not wedded promytte and solempne awowe make to GOD, to hys blessed moder Marie, and all the seyntes of hevene, yn presence of your reverent ffadyr yn Cryst Thomas by ye g'ce of GOD busshopp of Wyrecester fulle and hole purpose of chastyte perpetullie to bee kepte by mee after the rewle of seynt poule yn name of ye fadyr ye sone and ye holie gost amen (et faciat heremita cruce sup. cedulam)." The hermit makes the sign of the cross on the writing.

Anchorets were in early ages considered as being nearest Christian perfection. Sometimes they fixed their habitation in cells near or attached to the church, where they were locked or walled in, with nothing but a window by which they received the Lord's Supper and the necessaries of life. Banks of rivers however were the favourite spots for hermits, and oft at night they stood up to their necks in water, while repeating long services, to subdue their carnal appetites. In the life of St. Wulstan we read of Wolsius, a recluse, who was well known to have led a solitary life for forty years, and who, by sharply reprehending the saint for his disobedience and obstinacy in refusing the call to be

bishop over the Worcester flock, induced him to accept the offer. William de Beauchamp, in 1298, left the sum of four shillings "to every anchorite in Worcester and the parts adjacent." I find traces of anchorets in and near Worcester, and of sums bequeathed to them by wills, until the fifteenth century, when a memorandum occurs in one of the prior's books "for brycks, lyme, and sonde, to ye repa'con of ye anckras house (reparation of the anchoret's house) by ye charnel howse ex devocione, *xs.*" This cell near the charnel house may have been either attached to that house or an enclosure over the north porch of the cathedral, where for many centuries apartments were evidently occupied either in this way or by some officers of the church. There were fire places in those apartments, and over Jesus Chapel a small oven was made in the wall of the north aisle of the nave. Hook, in his "Church Dictionary," says that a chamber over a church porch "was most likely always a kind of *domus inclusa* for some officer of the church, as for instance the sacristan, and from the frequent occurrence of an altar in the east window we may presume that it was sometimes a temporary lodging for a priest." In 1571 there is an item in the Worcester receiver-general's accounts—

"In naylis (nails) to repayr a chamber of my howse over the north yle of ye churche, viij*d.*"

A century later one or more of the said apartments were given to an almsman, who however desecrated it by carrying on his cobbling there, and was ejected.

Many of the lonely men who occupied such retreats in the early period of the church's history had to the best of their light and knowledge literally carried out their SAVIOUR'S request in giving all their wealth to pious and charitable purposes and then "following him," as they supposed, by immuring themselves alive between stone walls, like the recluse in the ballad of "The Hermit of Warkworth:"

"My lands I gave to feed the poor
And sacred altars raise,
And here, a lonely anchorite,
I came to end my days.
No more the slave of human pride,
Vain hope, and sordid care,
I meekly vow'd to spend my life
In penitence and prayer."

The bishops' registers also abound with records of vows of chastity taken by widows and others. These vows were sometimes taken by young girls to avoid marriage with those whom they disliked, by women who lived in monasteries more or less with the nuns, by penitent women of ill fame, but most commonly by widows or widowers, in honour of their deceased partners. The bishop issued a commission, and the female was for life to wear

a veil and mourning habit. The veil was put on by the priest; but the ring alone, without veil or habit, was sufficient. Some persons took the vow for a period of years. In 1476, Elizabeth, relict of William Lygon, of Worcester, "armiger,"* took the vow of chastity, and received the mantle and ring and likewise the blessing from the bishop.

The priors following John Fordam were Thomas Ledbury (1438), John Hartlebury (1444), and Thomas Musard (1456). No personal reminiscences of these men have been met with, but Habingdon gives the following copy of verses on the tomb of Thomas Ledbury:—

"Quis jacet hic? Thomas. Quod cognomen fuit ejus?
Ledburi. Qualis honor? Doctor fidei que magister,
Ac Prior Ecclesiæ. Qui mores? Sobrius in se,
Providus et solidus, humilis, stabilisque, benignus,
Et quod virtutes jam dictas preterit omnes,
Spe rectusque fide, fuit inflammatus ab igne,
Illius ardoris quem misit spiritus almus,
In terramque suam voluit diffundere flammam.
Annis quot rexit? Septenis. Quot sibi vixit?
X sex, et semel U. Quos perstitit in monachatu?
X quinis tantum. Mansit in jubileum.
Ut requies detur. Tunc vult lex sicque precetur."
[Versus subsequentes ad pedes ymaginis.]
"M. semel, X. querno, C. quater fuit I. quoque terno 1443
Ter dena mensis bis dempta luce Decembris
Decessit Prior hic, doctor fidei jacet istic.
Ut jacet hic jaceat, ut rexit sic requiescat.
Sicque sibi panse, pax pacifico sine fine.
Fiat, ut hoc Amen sit semper in ore precamen."

* Esquire or gentleman.

Robert Multon, who had been cellarer, was elected prior, to succeed Musard in 1469. He was followed by William Wenlock, sacrist, elected prior in 1492, and Thomas Mildenham, sacrist, raised to the prior's chair in 1499. Materials are but scanty for the history of the monastery during these periods, and there are absolutely none at hand for a personal history of the above-named priors. Their superiors, the bishops of the see, have had their lives briefly portrayed by Thomas and others, and Habingdon tells us a circumstance with regard to bishop Carpenter in relation with the monastery:—

"He (Carpenter) was severe in justice, as I gather oute of his proceedings, and which was also apparent in his threatning of exco'munica'on against the prior and chapter of Wor. for alienating parte of the village of Throkmorton, which enforced ye religious to beseech by lettre ye archb'p of Canturburie yt he would vouchsafe to send for Thomas Throkmorton, sonne of John Throkmorton, to whom as before is sayed ye bishop of Wor. with licence of ye pope and king, confirmed Throkmorton, and command him to satisfie ye bishop of Wor., which was so effectually done as ye bishop of Wor. not only repressed his menaced sentence of exco'ica'ion against his chapter, but also receaved Tho. Throkmorton into his favour, and made him his principall officer over his castells and manors."

Of the installation of Bishop Alcock, who succeeded Carpenter, we have an interesting account, which, as it throws some light on ecclesiastical pageantry of that time in connection with the

cathedral and monastery, is here appended* The installation of the bishop in the month of Dec., 1476, is narrated in a MS. in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on this wise:—

"Imprimis, the said Revd. fadir the saturday nyght next after the said feste (conception) he was loged within his own manner called Northwyke, a lytell myle fro his said cite: the said day of his translacion and installacion at ye hour of viij of the clock in ye morning this was his comyng and receivyng furst divers lords temporals with honourable congregation of knyghts, esquires and gentilmen the bayliffts and aldermen with . . . sargeants with mace after them, the bayliffts comper xxiiij . . . richely beseyn in gownes of scarlet the xlviij of the councel of the said citie with all the hoole comynalte reverently they received without the Northgate† of ye citie comyng from his said maners: at which gate there abyding a suffrygan pontifically habited, the deane of the cite . . . wool clergye richlye besegn in . . . . with cross, encense and holy water thus recevyd, procedyng with solempne song afore wym furst the religiouse book preeh and four . . . the said clerge through ye high strete synging solemply these songs Omne Trinitati, Te Deum, Ave Regina, continewing the space from the said gate unto the enterying of the church hye and next before my lorde goying ye lord temporals aforesaid and on eche side of them goyng on a rowe xxx poor men, that is to say, xv on the oon side of the strete and xv on the other clothed in white gowns with hoods about their nekks, and yis signe made of black cloth in . . . set on each side of their breast S. M. furthermore at the enterying of the church porche ther were . . . the priour

* A still more interesting instance of pageantry in Worcester cathedral occurred at the funeral of Prince Arthur, but which has been so minutely recorded in Green's and other works as not to require repetition here.

† The Foregate.

of the said cathedral church with dyvers prelacy, that is to wete, abbots of the diocess vij of them with cross and myteur and of dyvers priours with all ye religious of the place and so with cross in cense and holy water recevyd and conveyd to high awter (altar) and enstallyd, and th' awtoritie afore them ther redde: then was he conveyed by the sexten and the chanter of the place into the vestiarie and then making his chaunge and himself redy thereto come to him one Dan John Sudbury, beseching him first to consecrate a new chalice which he let make of pure and fine gold: and so my lord was the furst that song mas with that chalice, which was gevyn into the said place by the said Dan John for an eternual memory to be a special jewel—this done my lord will all our prelates and the covent goyng then about ye cloysters in procession with solempn ryte and synging salve festa to ye station accustomed where my lord preched a solempne sermon unto the peple full grete of audience, his theme Ego sum Pastor bonus, and in the sermon hymself praying the peple to take such parte as GOD has send and he had ordygned for the day . . . The sermon fynyshed, procedying forth to masse . . . after this mas fynyshed, my said lord with all lords spiritual and temporal, with all the religious persons, curates and prestes, gentilmens yomen and citizens they wer convey'd into the fraytour wher the feste was holdyn . . . the high borde kever'd and estate made for my lords own person in ye myddel sittyng on his right hand ye priour of the place with ix other abbots . . . and on ye left side my Lord Richard, my Lord Stanley, Sr Thomas Lyttilton, Knyt., and Gudge with others —the side on ye right hand sittyng other prelates, that is to wete; abbots, priours, doctors and religious etyng fyshe and so down to ye end, dyvers gentilmen and yomen, on the other side of the hall knights esquires, and so along the hall yomen and gentilmen. In ye middes of that hall were ij tabuls all the length forsaid at the upper end of yat borde ther sat my lordes chanclar at that time Master Will. Bance with other officers spiritual of my lords; doctors graduates parsouns and curatts and prests with 'other that

fylled yat home—at the overmost end of the borde next ther sate the bayliffs of the cite—the aldermen with ye worshipfull called the xxiiij and so the cityzens and commynalte of the same with divers other. Then in ye end of ye said fraytors lowest ther was a tabull set of the said xxx men whom my lorde servyd with his own hand, or he and the lords set to meate, when the lorde and the hall were served of the furst cowrse immediately ther came in oon like a doctor clothyd in scarlet standyng afor the tabel seying a colaycon made by metre in retorical terms the theme triplicat first of John ye Baptist, second of John Evangelist, thyrd of John the Bushop present . . . . . cetera desunt."

Habingdon says that Bishop Allcock was a benefactor to the cathedral and monastery:—

"There remaineth some impression of his memory in ye cathedral church of Wor., which perswadeth mee yt he was a benefactor to ye same place. I will sett downe ye writing in ye east window of ye vestrie of this church, being neere his armes, and thus:

'Alcock pontificem notat hæc tibi parma Johannem
Felix sit vitâ Deus hîc, sibi postea superna.'

'John Alcock, bishop, heere is by these armes exprest:
God grant he first be here, and last in heaven blest.'

"I am fallen to be an expositor in ryme of two old verses, the rest beinge in prose I may more easely english. A bishop in his pontificalitie with his clergie prayeth thus: 'O duæ gemmæ celestos Maria et Joannes, mei custodes, et apud Deu' intercessores pro me existere dignemini in,' etc. An then ye prior being mitred and in his cope, with his monks, prayeth: 'Ep'u n'ru Joannem et gregem sibi commissu' in tuoru' observatione mandatoru' conservare dignem."

In the year 1480 Bishop Allcock issued a monition

to all the clergy in this diocese, to the effect that all gold, silver, rings, girdles, jewels, drapery, &c., on the image of the blessed Virgin in Worcester cathedral, which had been clandestinely removed, should be restored within fifteen days on pain of excommunication. This was no doubt the image which Bishop Bourchier, the predecessor of Carpenter, had bequeathed by will to the cathedral of Worcester. It was of silver gilt, valued at £69. 5*s.* (representing at least £500 of present money). Sacrilege was a crime not of such frequent occurrence as many others; but when the clergy, to whom the people naturally look for examples, have themselves become corrupt, we may reasonably expect a corresponding declension in public morals; and when we are told, on the authority of Wharton and Nash,* that towards the close of this century an Italian was appointed by the pope to be bishop of this see who had an extraordinary commission to pardon the most heinous offences, and to dispense with the restitution of goods (where restitution was an indispensable duty) on condition that part of the gain should be given to the pope's commissaries, the debased condition of the people generally need excite no special wonder.

Another curious circumstance which happened during Thomas Mildenham's rule of the monastery

* Vol. ii., appendix.

was a dispute as to a point of precedence in the cathedral, and is related in one of the ledgers, under date 1506, setting forth certain letters sent to the bishop from the prior, sub-prior, and convent, showing that "of late certain communications hath bin communed betwixt master doctor Hallisworth, vicar-general, and our master the prior, to us prejudiciall as appeareth in our writings made by the holie Seynt Wulstan, our speciall founder;" and therefore praying the bishop "to give credence to master Belise (or Helyse) Ruthyn, chosen to bee our counsell in this matter," and entreating him "to preserve oure liberties, customs, and privileges, which of olde antiquityes have been used and observed." The bishop in his answer says:—

"Brother prior, I recommend me unto you and to your brethren, beinge glad to knowe if you doe well, alsoe letting you wytt I have receyved youre lettres wherby I onderstand and by master Helysse am informed that now of late tyme ye and my chancellor doctor Hallisworth verry* for sitting in my cathedrall church, wheras ye by your counsell saith my chancellor hath no place of dewty there, bott ye allow in my absence. I am informed by credible persons that the chancellor should sit next the prior, and the prior not usurp to sit in the bishop's place but with hys bretheren after ye old custom ther me thynk the best that ye both refrain and come not ther to such tyme as I come thydd'r myself, which shalbe shortlie by the grace of GOD, or els I shal committ the matter to be examyned indifferentlie for both ye parties accordinge to righte and good concerns, for I would neyther ye had

* Vary, or disagree.

wronge, nor that I should lesse no right in my tyme, but doe accordinge to ye olde custom, the which by dew examinacon shalbe knowen by the grace of GOD, who evermore p'suff you all.—From London, twentyth March, Gilbert bishop of Worcester."

This prior (Mildenham), too, it would appear, brought on himself the displeasure of the king through not paying certain arrears of a "benevolence," for about this time he received a summons directed to him, as also to the abbot of Bordsley, master Slymbrig, and William Litilton, knight, who had been appointed commissioners for levying the said benevolence granted to the king within the county of Worcester, "understanding that divers sommes of monie that have bin levied yet remaine in youre handes, to oure grete displesur," every one of them was cited to appear personally "before certeyn commissioners in the house called the master of the workes lodginge at Wesmynster" on the 5th of November, and to bring the commissions and the books of the collection, and the ready money remaining in their hands, on pain of £100 penalty for each. No doubt the amount was at once paid, as no further entry appears on the subject.

John Weddesbury succeeded Mildenham as prior in 1507. The solitary fact which I find worthy of record connected with his term of office is another composition effected with reference to the

lead pipes which conveyed Henwick water to the monastery. Roger Boxutt and John Spryng were then the bailiffs (mayors) of the city. First specifying that variances, disorders, and claims long continued as to possession and usages claimed by both parties, had occurred, "after dyvers lovyng assemblies and meetings for appeasing of such variances from the begyning of ye world unto ye daie of makinge of these presents in manner and forme folowinge:" the prior and convent promise to mend the said pipes whenever broken within seven days; allege that the bailiffs and citizens had encroached on the freehold of the monastery in a certain pasture appertaining to the kitchener's office "agenst ye key" (quay), and in a certain tenement, at the time of their perambulation, showing writings of perambulation as far back as Henry IV. in favour of their rights, while the prior and convent showed no writings, it being their freehold; it was agreed that the bailiffs and citizens should remain in peaceable possession and put in such stakes or stones as might be thought necessary in future perambulations, so that three monks should be always present at the doing of it. Then there was socage claimed out of certain lands and tenements in the city belonging to the monastery according to an award by Bishop Bourchier. The piece of ground lay "beyond Severn brigge in

Hylton streete called cley pitts before ye cross there, and stretching from ye gutter of stone along by ye highway to a parcell of ground of ye Grey Friers, and soe fro' ye streete unto Severn, parte of which ground is claimed by the bayliffs as thyer common ground, and the other parte claimed by the prior and convent to be theyr frehold; and as it standeth in doubt of both parties" the prior and convent agreed to give up their right and title to the bailiffs and citizens, and in recompense they received all socage rents going out of any tenements belonging to the prior and convent. It was alleged by the bailiffs and citizens that the prior and convent had made divers purprestures* in building certain houses "further in ye strete than of right they ought to have done wherby the stretes in the seyd cittie be minished;" and whereas three monks and three citizens had "taken a view," who "presented" the said purprestures, the bailiffs and citizens conceded that the said encroachments should be retained by the prior and convent "and taxed as easily and gentlie as other purprestures belonging to ye cittizens; also that the prior and convent shal have all such actions, playnts, execucons, and other lawe proceedyngs in the cytie on terms equall to those of the cittizens; and if the prior and convent be condemned and execucon

* An encroachment; from *pour prist.*

awarded, then the cellarer's carte to be attached as of olde tyme have bin used." And as the common council of the city had discharged certain freemen dwelling in the cemetery of the monastery from their freedom, it was agreed that they should continue in the enjoyment of their rights so long as they paid all dues and otherwise behaved well. And if either party should thereafter be aggrieved they were to give notice to the other, whereupon four monks and four citizens were to have "loving meetings and communications before anything be attempted in lawe."

I find nothing to distinguish Prior Weddesbury except his death, which happened at Rome, where he had gone to visit the bishop of Worcester (Sylvester Gigles, an Italian), who bestowed a monument upon him and wrote his epitaph. There appears however about this time in one of the priory ledgers a letter written to the prior of Worcester from the prior of Blythe with reference to an offending monk of Worcester who was ejected from the monastery; it is as follows:—

"Unto the reverend ffather in GOD the prior of Worcester this letter be delivered.

"Brother prior, I recommend me unto you, certifying you that I have, thirtyeth daye of July, receyved the lettre which you gave licens to youre childe of obedience, William Alston, to send unto mee as it appereth by your owne hande upon ye backside of hys lettre. Wheras you wrote that you gave hym

licens to write unto mee for a reception seying in youre seyd wryting that if I would receyve him and have hym you would be right wel content therwith. And if it plese you for GOD'S sake and at this my pore instance to you as short tyme convenyent as may be to you will give him hys libertie and his dismission with all other things requisite to a religious man coming oute of such a worshipfull place as yours is I will gladlie receyve him and thereapon I have sent him his reception under my convent seale, beseching for youre owne worshipp and for GOD'S sake to deale charitablie with him and to doe goode to him ageynst his illdoing to you, following the doctrine of oure SAV'R, seying: 'Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite iis q'm oder'nt vos', and in this doeing you shal have laude of men and reward of GOD in heaven, 'q'd oculus no' vidit nec auris audivit.' Your brother in GOD, Thos. p'r of Blythe."

We now approach the most interesting feature of the history of Worcester monastery, being no less than a biography of one of its priors, drawn from materials which he himself supplied in his private journal, and which seems to have escaped the vigilance of all previous explorers, being fortunately reserved to enrich the present work. The subject however is so important and so fraught with interest as to deserve the appropriation of a special chapter.

Chapter II.

THE LIFE OF PRIOR MOORE.

"There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceased."

WILLIAM MOORE, who followed John Weddesbury in 1518, is the only one of all the priors of Worcester who has left us the private records of his weekly expenses, journeyings, and other domestic matters which impart a reality and a charm to histories of this kind, and of his highly interesting journal I propose to make liberal use, more especially as he was for the long period of nearly half a century a member of the fraternity whose history I am anxious to elucidate and must therefore have witnessed much of the abuse, corruption, and decadence of the institution to which he belonged. The prior's original name was probably William Peers (Peres, or Pearce), as he

mentions his mother, Ann Peers of Grimley, and his brother, Robert Peers; moreover his journal seems to have fallen into the hands of some of the family either during his life or afterwards, the margins of the leaves being extensively scribbled over by Richard Peres, who claims the book as his own, makes one John Peres witness thereto, writes ejaculatory prayers from the psalms and other portions of holy writ, and finally expresses a wish that "GOD would make a good man" of him. The prior, too, has his best wine from one "Peers of Bristowe." Monks, it is well known, on joining a religious brotherhood, usually exchanged their family surname for the name of the town or village to which they belonged, and hence I infer that the subject of this memorial episode was born or brought up at a place called the Moor, although his parents subsequently lived and died at Grimley. Several places in Worcestershire bear the name of the Moor, and especially a manor in the parish of Lindridge, which belonged to the church of Worcester and where the priors held their courts. It is merely a suggestion that probably, when our prior was elected to that office, he brought his parents from Moor and allowed them the use of his manor-house or some other residence at Grimley. A good manor-house was built at Grimley in the third year of Henry VIII., the

arms on the gateway being, quarterly, France and England, with the pomegranate, the royal symbol of Spain. In every window of the chapel were the then prior's arms who added much to this building: gules, on a fesse sable, between three strawberry branches slipped, with berries proper, as many birds close, or. In the third pane, argent, three pallets embattled and counterbattled, gules. In the first north window, the same arms charged with strawberries. In the second, the arms of the bishopric. In the opposite south window also the bishop's arms, and in the next a coat charged with strawberries. All which being upon the same coat, it was with probability conjectured that these were the founder's arms, whose name was expressed on the wall by the gate in these words "Orate pro bono statu Domini Johannis Wedesbury,* prioris ecclesiæ cathedralis beatæ (Sanctæ Mariæ)." The place or court-house was entirely pulled down in the time of Bishop Hough.

On the first leaf of Prior Moore's journal is the entry—

"Mem. that Wm. More, p'r of Wor., was shaven in to ye religion ye sixteenthe daye of June, viz., on seynt Botulff's day in An. Dm. 1488, he being at that time sixteene yers of age."

This shaving was of course taking on himself the

* Moore's predecessor.

tonsure, which from the fifth century had been considered a necessary rite for admission into the clerical office. There were the circular and semi-circular modes of shaving the head. The Roman clergy adopted the former, which was supposed to represent the SAVIOUR'S crown of thorns; but Scottish priests preferred the semicircular, which their opponents called in derision the tonsure of Simon Magus. Of William Moore's private life as an ordinary monk we have no account, but he seems to have passed up the various gradations of office in the monastery, was kitchener in 1504, and at length served as sub-prior under John Weddesbury. The great event which, after a thirty years' residence in the monastery, was to raise him to his highest honours, is thus recorded:—

"Idem Wm. More prior p'fixus fuit in priorem in capella carnarie juxta palat'm ep'i Wigorne p'. Rev. Magis. Joh'em Bell doctore et cancellar'm Wigornie in crastino S'ti Oswalde in Oct. viz. die S'ti Dionisii et extat hoc anno die sabbati An. Dm. 1518."

The journal extends from the time of the prior's election to the year 1535, when, foreseeing the coming storm, the good old gentleman, at the age of sixty-three, wisely retired on a liberal pension to the comfortable manor-house of Crowle. His accounts are hebdomadal, and commence every year with the feast of St. Michael and All Angels.

This day was set apart by the church to express her thankfulness to GOD for the benefits received by the ministry of angels, of whom St. Michael was supposed to be the chief, and the same day was chosen to elect bailiffs or governors of cities and towns on account of tutelar spirits having particular charge of certain bodies of men or districts of country. Every week of the prior's expenditure is named as being so many after the feast of St. Michael (Sep. 29), or the nativity of our LORD (Dec. 25), or the annunciation of the blessed Mary (March 25), or the nativity of St. John (June 24). These are still our quarter days; but the old accountants, instead of dating their expenditure on the days of the month, would lump the whole in a weekly arrangement, under the heading "Ebdom. p'ma in Natale"—the first week in the Nativity—and so on. Every item of outlay is minutely specified, not confining himself to the larger amounts laid out on clothing, furniture, plate, jewellery, wine, and travelling expenses, but likewise enumerating the cost of herrings, his contributions to church ales and bonfires, the price of his servants' new shoes, what "ye cobbler at ye lich-gate oweth," what he bestowed on beggars, his barber's wages, his presents given at the weddings of any relatives or friends, the expense of curing his bad leg and broken ribs (probably occa-

sioned by falling from his horse in those days of deep ruts and unfathomable mud); and all this mixed up with allusions to otter hunting in the Severn, bear-baiting at the manor-house of Battenhall; visits of players, minstrels, and jugglers; sums spent in entertaining the bailiffs (mayors) and principal citizens, who feasted with the prior right merrily and oft; and in the very next dip of the ink comes a moral aphorism or a prayerful ejaculation. In the midst of £. *s.* *d.* the poor prior writes (if indeed it be not the scribbling of a subsequent possessor of the book):—

"Ponder my words, O LORD, consider my meditation, and hearken Thou unto the voice of my calling, my King and my GOD, for unto Thee will I make my prayer."

In other parts of the journal are jottings which, whether written by the prior or not, may be given as specimens of old versification, thus:—

"In my beginning GOD be my sped,
In grace and virtu to proced—amen."

"As I laye musyng all alone,
I hard a voyce that loud did cry
Com gieve a countes youe everie one
All in the kinlyng of a I." *

"When the rayn rayneth and the goose wynckethe,
Lyttell thynketh the gandard what the goose thynketh."

It is evident that in those days he who desired

* "Twinkling of an eye" probably.

the office of a prior desired a good thing. When at home in the bosom of his "family," as the monastic fraternity were called, his duties were but light, the chief portion of the executive being entrusted to the sub-prior and other officers; the respect and deference shown to him was only equalled by that of a hive to the queen bee; he ate and drank of the best, when the convent generally fared poorly on "monk's loaves" and vegetables; received jovial visits from the ruling powers of the city, from subordinate abbots and other travelling ecclesiastics, and even from royalty itself; and when he left the monastery he travelled like a lord, with his gentlemen attendants and servants, fared sumptuously at his manor-houses, or, in visits to the metropolis, saw every thing new or strange, and laid in stores of literature, clothing, jewellery, spices, and other articles for the monastery, not obtainable at home. The prior's life was one of very frequent itinerancy; for instance, in 1527, he spent the first two weeks of the year at Battenhall (a manor within a mile of the monastery), the next three weeks at Worcester, then five weeks at Crowle, two at Worcester, five at Grimley, one at Crowle, sixteen at Battenhall, seven at Grimley, two at Worcester (including Palm Sunday), two at Grimley, two at Crowle, one at Worcester (Rogation week), two at Crowle and Worcester, and

the last two weeks of the year at Battenhall and Crowle. He does not appear to have visited London that year, but ordinarily the time he spent there yearly was from a month to six weeks. Grimley had special attractions for prior Moore, in the presence of his parents, and that he was undoubtedly an affectionate son and most kindly disposed towards all his relatives, friends, and dependents, proofs exist in such entries as the following:—

"It. to my mother, iij*s.* iv*d.*"

"To my father and mother before I went to London, iij*s.* iv*d.*"

"Rewards* to my syster law of Bristowe when shee was here, xx*s.*"

"Gyff to my syst'r Ales and to her childryne, x*s.*"

"For a coate clothe to my father, x*s.*"

"A tonne of wynne to my brother, c*s.*"

"For a gowne cloth to my brother Robert, xx*s.*"

"To my sister of Cropthorne, vi*s.* viij*d.*"

"Rewards to my pore kynsfolke and servants agaynst this Christmas xvi*s.* viij*d.*"

"To Thomas Martley my unkell for a coote cloth, x*s.*"

"To myne awnte of Astley, viij*s.*"

"My cosen Anne's rente, ij*s.* vi*d.*"

"To Agnes my cosen for makynge of xi peyer of shets, napkyns, tabul clothes, a frynge to a bedd, and other worke, ix*s.*"

"To my father and mother ageynst Crismass, iij*s.* iv*d.*"

His father, Richard Peres, died at Grimley, and was buried there on the 20th of February, 1520, and

* This word was used in the sense of presents.

the funeral expenses included nineteen dozen of bread, twelve sest'r of ale, three hundred white herrings, some red herrings, three salt fish, four salmons (2*s.* 6*d.*), twenty-three stock fish (5*s.* 9*d.*), and fresh fish. It being probably Lent, the funeral party were stinted to bread, fish, and ale; besides which 20*s.* were "doled" or distributed to the poor, 22*s.* to the priests and clerks, 6*s.* 8*d.* to the friars, and 2*s.* to the clerks for ringing three days. Hire of vessel, 10*d.*; wax (probably for candles to burn at the laying out), 6*s.*; and the convent had 38*s.*, no doubt for "refreshment" and performing an obit.

In the following year the good prior sustained an apparently still heavier affliction in the death of his mother, if we are to judge from the extraordinary provision made at her funeral. Here is his own account of it:—

"Mem. that ye 22d. daye of Sep. my mother Annes Peers departed to GOD, at whos 'terment was as here foloweth ye chargs kept in ye manour place of Grimley and to blk fryrs and to ye grey for diriges song in ther own places and the masses song in ye cathedral church they having everie place iij*s.* iv*d.* To ye clerks of ye church for synging at dirige and chapter masse ij*s.*; to ye convent for a brekefast byff and motton, bred and ale fij*s.* iv*d.*; forty-one dozen of bred, xlis.; ten sest'r of ale, xx*s.*; six shype, ix*s.*; four dosen of goddards, xij*d.*; thirteen potts, vij*d.*; three piggs, xiij*d.*; six geese, ij*s.* vi*d.*; two byffs, xxx*s.*; to p'sts and clerks, xx*s.*; to powr folks, xxvi*s.* viijd.; to children, ij*s.* iv*d.*; to Rd. Salwey, for dygging of ye pitt in ye chauncel, iv*d.*; for bred ye fyrst

night, vi*d.*; for kylling of two byff, iv*d.*; for hyring three dosen of dishes, ix*d.*; five tapurs of xvi pound at x*d.* per pounde and for bolls, fower torches of xx pound at x*d.* The waste of ye torchis and tapur v*s.* iv*d.* To Bartram for crosse and other worke to my mother's grave at Grimley, iij*s.* iv*d.*"

Anniversaries of deaths were then observed, doles distributed, and obituary services performed; they were called "year's mind," or "month's mind" (remembrance). Prior Moore in 1522 records:—

"Gyfts and charges at my mother's yers mynde, xxij*d.* and ij*s.* iv*d.*"

This custom was derived from remote antiquity: the ancient heathen kept their "parentalia," or burial feasts for their dead parents; and "dies anniversarii" were observed in this country long after the reformation and when the efficacy of prayers for the dead was no longer an article of faith.

An affectionate remembrance for the departed was accompanied by kindly and genial feelings to the living, whether of high or low degree. Prior Moore gives 10*s.* at the wedding of his kinswoman, Margaret Vistigate, and "to Thos. Bolt yt maryed my cosyn, xx*s.*;" £3 "to Jone Tomes, Thomas ye pant's* daughter, who was maryed to William Tomes, draper, on S. Cecilie day ye virgin;" and 12*d.* to master Croft's servant's wedyng (Ann)."

* Painter's?

There was much less of proud distinction in those days, and much more of good servitude, heartfelt affection, and domestic relationship, between master and servant, than in the present time. No doubt the good prior was an attendant at some of these marriages, and probably himself led off the village dance. He gives 2*s.* 4*d.* "to ye maydens at Grymley singyng on Maye day," 3*s.* 4*d.* to Thomas Brandon, "ye kyng's jogeller" at Grimley, and 8*d.* to the juggler's child for tumbling performances; "to Grimley church ale" (a parish gathering, combining merriment with charity to the poor), 3*s.* To Grimley church he presented "two crewetts of selver, with three uncs (ounces) and halfe of broke selv'r, xxij*s.*;" likewise two great candlesticks, a chasuble, alb, and chalice weighing twenty ounces; and "payd for makyng a front of Grymley high altar of chamblett, ij*s.* iv*d.*" He caused the alabaster table of the said altar to be "schowred and repayred" at a charge of 4*s.* 6d., and "payd for a new grayle* of velom, well bounde, to Sir† John P'sten yt I gyff to Grimley church xl*s.* to serve GOD at necessites in ye quyr there." He records the consecration of the "awter in ye chapel at Grimley manor in ye honor of seynt John Evangelist" on the 21st of April, 1523, and paid—

* The gradale or grayle was a book containing the office for sprinkling holy water and other parts of the ceremony of the mass.

† "Sir" was a title given to the clergy.

"To Robert Penrice kervar (sculptor) for ye makinge of ye two tabernacles in ye chapel of Grimley xlvi*s.* viij*d.*"

"To hym for ye makyng of our Lady and St. John ye Evan. ix*s.* a peece."

He gives 100*s.* for a gilt chalice for Hallow church (a chapelry to Grimley), and, "after ye grete wynde" in 1521, 16*d.* "for reparacon of Hallow park." One of the greatest proofs of his considerate care for the welfare of Grimley and its inhabitants is the following:—

"Payd to workmen for makyng of a new well in the highway in ye hyther or sowthe yend of Grymley towne to serve three howsolds at yt yend of ye towne by Rd. Peres (his father's) house, which well was made by me Wm. More, p'r of W'r. this week, where was never well there before, iij*s.* vi*d.*"

Fish being an article of much greater consumption in those days than at present, large pools were necessary adjuncts to houses of any pretensions, while monasteries and convents were usually seated within easy distance of a river, not only for the sake of the fishing but for the advantage of water carriage and fertility of soil. At Grimley manor-house the pool was stored with eel and tench, and one or more swanneries* existed there. Concerning the arrangements of the house itself the journal reveals but little, beyond the fact that painted linen cloths formed the drapery of the hall, and that Nicholas the bell-caster was employed "in renew-

* Swan-eyrie, nest of swans.

yng of my dishes" there—a pewter service, no doubt recast. But in another book there is an inventory of the goods and furniture at several manor-houses, Grimley included. If the reader will turn to Crowle manor, a few pages further on, he will find an inventory of the furniture and hangings at that place, which are substantially the same as those of Grimley, except that at the latter there is mention of "a double quylt, a bowster, with flocks of canvas, in the lord's chamber, which was hung with red and yellow says;" in another chamber was "a cooffur (chest) for candells, a byrrall dryncking cupp with a cover, a pillow of double satten, a bed in the parlour hung with red and yellow, and bed clothes of 'verdure or ymagery.'" The great chamber was hung with painted cloths, and had a "great stonding cheyer, the celar to ye bed of whyte linen clothe, and a gredyerne in ye kitchen."

From this and other inventories it will be gathered that some degree of luxury had been arrived at in those days, as denoted by pillows of down, covered with satin, splendid coloured hangings, abounding in "imagery," or figures of beasts, birds, and even of CHRIST, the apostles, evangelists, &c. It was not unusual to have the figure of CHRIST on pillow cases, that the head might rest on it during the night. Tables and cup-

boards, such as we have them, were then scarcely known: they were mere boards standing on trestles, for although boards attached to frames had been invented they were only used in the houses of the wealthy. The board and trestles were brought in by the domestics at each meal, and were usually cleared away before the company rose from the benches:—

> "When they had ete, and grace sayd,
> And the tabyll away was leyd,
> Up aroos Ipomydon."*

Forms, stools, benches, and settles, supplied the sitting accommodation, chairs being rarely used but in the mansions of the rich, so that, as Mr. Parker suggests, "taking the chair" even in private life perhaps implied something more than common civility. Wainscotted and tapestried apartments were the exception, not the rule, and although carpets of English manufacture had long been in existence they were considered as only effeminate luxuries. Rushes for the chambers at Worcester monastery appear frequently in the accounts. The "red and yellow says" mentioned above was the serge of Ghent, which usually formed the hangings of the best chamber; and "the bed in the parlour" was a general thing. The French gentry used to receive their guests while in bed, and the

* Parker's "English Home."

English must of course imitate the custom; but although the latter were the first to abandon it, the practice of keeping a great "standing bedd" in the parlour seems to have prevailed for a lengthened period.

The first mention of the prior's bodily infirmities was in 1521, when he paid—

"To Wm. Barbur* for my legg helyng, ij*s.* *vid.*"

In 1527 he paid—

"To Walter Marrshe for a playst'r to my arme, ij*s.* *vid.*"

"To Marrshe ye clocke maker, for surgery for my arme, ij*s.* *vid.*"

Four years later he remained at Grimley a month in a diseased state—

"Item, to Rog'r Hewlett in p'te that he mynisterd medcyne to me besyke at Grimley, ij*s.*"

Subsequently "Master Blewett, doct'r of fysike of Hereford," was sent for, at a charge of 13s. 4d., and Thomas Poticary furnished "a preparatuve and two purgacions" for 3s. 4d. The Worcester faculty could not have been in such high repute in those days as at the present, for it seems that physicians were usually sent for from other towns. Thus in 1489, when Robert Multon was prior:—

* William the barber, no doubt. Richard le Mercer, Thomas Poticary, and many other names derived from trades and occupations, frequently occur in these records.

"Solut cuid'm ffisico vocat. Matt. Lenche de Oxon p. attendencia sua et p. medicinis suis dat. d'no p'or in infirmitate sua et ad supindend. et custodiend. se in bono statu hoc anno lxxix*s.* xi*d.*"

Perhaps in no one thing are the ignorance and credulity of the middle ages more conspicuous than in their cultivation of medicine and surgery. John Gaddesden, a great luminary in physic, professed to cure small-pox by wrapping the body of the patient in red cloth, while everything about the bed was also to be red. Epilepsy was cured by the patient *and his parents* fasting three days, then to go to church, confess, and have a portion of the Gospel written out and bound about his neck. Jeremy Taylor says: "We cut living pigeons in halfs and apply them to the feet of men in fevers, and we rip the bellies of sheep, of horses, of oxen, to put into them the side of a paralytick." The moss of a dead man's skull, or a preparation of mummy, was supposed to combine all the virtues of all the planets in the case of wounds, and "king's evil" to disappear at the royal touch even up to the last century; poultices were applied to all wounds and abscesses by one party (Roger, Roland, and the four masters); another (Brunus and Theodoric) used wine only; a third (Saliceto and Lanfranc) treated wounds with ointment and plaster; a fourth (Germans who attended the armies) promiscuously used charms, potions, oil,

and wool; while a still more numerous section of old women of both sexes simply called upon the saints in all emergencies. Astrology and charms were much exercised; hairs from saints' beards taken internally after being dipped in holy water; blood-letting resorted to four or five times a-year, barbers being the operators. In mediæval days dreadful maladies were prevalent in consequence of the deficiency of medical knowledge and also attributable to the salt diet (when fresh meat could not be procured during the winter), added to a general personal uncleanliness of habit. Thus the plague, and sweating sickness, and black death, made sad havoc among all classes. It was not till the time of Henry VIII. that an act was passed against smiths, weavers, and other ignorant persons, practising as doctors or surgeons.

Dr. Blewitt, of Hereford, although a great man to have been sent for by Prior Moore in preference to the Worcester faculty, was probably not much wiser than his contemporaries, yet he seems to have been in frequent attendance on the prior, and Thomas Potycary (the apothecary) again furnishes the poor patient with a "p'paratiff and a laxe," for 3*s.* 4*d.* The prior's medicine during his illness in 1531 was put down at 40*s.* He partially recovers, goes to Crowle and elsewhere, but returns to Grimley again diseased, having evidently met with an accident, in

the eighth week after St. Michael's feast in the following year, and—

"Gyff to Nich's of ye Flete for helyng of rybbes in my syde broken iis."

His next "fysicking" was in London, at a cost of 5*s.*, and it is to be hoped this was an effectual dose, as we hear no more of his ailments.

While on the subject of medicine, the friends and admirers of prior Moore will excuse me if I leave his biography for a few moments to consider how his "family" of monks fared as regards the arrangements for their health. They had an infirmary communicating with the west end of the cloisters, and an officer set over that department.

"Herbs aromatic dangling in a noose,
For medicines, to the sick-house beams he tied;
He knew the learned name of each—the juice—
And moon's age when it should be cull'd for use."

Patients were allowed to eat meat, and their dietary was as liberal as the necessity of the case required; indeed some hints are thrown out in the records that the infirmary table was too attractive, some of the sick monks remaining eight or ten weeks at a time under treatment. Blood-letting took place generally four times a year—a system of depletion which, taken in connection with a low dietary, must have greatly enfeebled the system, and kept the infirmary well inhabited. Notwithstanding this

the monks often desired to be bled that they might be indulged with meat. There is an entry in one of the compotus rolls—

"P' vitriis empt. p' aqua egrotor' impon'. xij*d*."

Mr. Albert Way thinks this must mean glass urinals for looking at the water of the sick: they were like an inverted water-bottle, balloon-shape, and much used in old leechcraft. In a book of recipes and other varied information, belonging to Worcester monastery, is a list of meats and drinks to be taken or avoided, and the qualities of each, whereto I shall have occasion to refer more largely under the head of "Dietary." It also treats of specifics for various ailments, and was evidently treasured up either by the prior or infirmarer as a standard book of reference. Here is—

"Medicyne for ye gout.

"Take hoote (hot) graynes and sytt in them up to the knees for the space of oon houre and halfe; then drye your legges and anoynt them before ye ffire with sene (qy senna?) then take a wyld catt's skynne and lay the flesh side to the sore."

"If a man be stryken with the plague:

"Take the water of strawberries and a good spoonful of the water of betany and a quantite of tryacle of gene, and mengell them together and gyff the syke to drink, and it shal drive the sore fro' the harte."

"Another medecyn for the boche.

"And yf the boche apere take bryer leaves, eller leaves, and mustard, and stamp them altogether and make ther of a

playster and lay it to the sore, and that shal doo owte the venym in short space by the grace of GOD."

"A special medycin to save and preserv you fro' the sykenes of the pestilens, written by master doctor Bentley fysessheon to our sov. lord king Henry eight.

"Take a handfull of sage ryall of v'tu and a handfull of rewe and a handfull of elere leaves and a handfull of redbryer leaves called blakery leaves, and stamp altogether in a mortar and strayne them through a linnen cloth with a quart of white wyne, or els a quart of stale ale, and put thereto a quantity of powder of ginger, a good spoonful, and put it in your glass, and all to swyng it, and so let it rest, and then use itt everie daye to drynk a spoonfull fastinge, and after the first daye and the first spoonfull ye shal be sewer for xxiv dayes after, and after the ix spoonfull ye shal be sewer (sure?) for the hole yeere. Ye must drynck it nine dayes a rewe and everie daye a sponeful." "Scripta est p' me Anthon. Bentley."

Besides the above are a variety of "purges," "medcyns to kyll rotts and myce, revyns, cheows, crowes, pyes, and fytcheows;" but it is time to return to our biography.

Battenhall and Crowle seem to have been the favourite residences of Prior Moore. At Battenhall was a park, close to the city, with a fine well-stocked sheet of water and a boat on it. The manor-house was moated, as appears thus:—

"Put in ye mo't at Batnall eight store pyckrells (young pikes) and a breme."

"vcc store eels in park pool at Batnal xiv*d*."

The emptying, cleansing, and stocking of these pools, with erection of flood-gates and park fencing,

at the various manor-houses, formed a considerable item of expense, and the prior even puts down the new shoes he was obliged to purchase for his servants in consequence of their working in Battenhall pool. At this manor he kept an "ambling grey mare" for breeding, and records all her doings in that way, also every fresh production of the swannery:—

"Mem. upon seynt Dunstan's daye the swannes at Batnal browt forth fower synetts in to ye poole."

Venison and rabbits were contributed to the monastery from Battenhall park; for instance, in the year 1520, nine male deer, five does, and twenty-five couples of "conys." And there is an entry—

"To king's bereward at Batnall, having two beres there, xx*d*."

These were probably travelling bears, rather than animals regularly kept for the prior's amusement, yet it should be remembered that the monks on certain occasions celebrated feasts at Battenhall with the prior, and that royalty occasionally honoured the place with its presence, when the sports of jugglers and other sources of merriment were in request, for instance, in 1519—

"Rewarded to Wm. Benett and to his companie at procession tyme, being at Batnal w't me at dyner and supper, for ye recreation, ij*s*. iv*d*."

"Rewarded to syngers of ye towne iv*d.* and to pleyers of seynt Peturs," (various small sums.)

"John Acton, Wm. Parker, and John Tylar, for singinge at Batnall on Maye morning, xij*d.*"

In 1525, Prior Moore paid—

"To Cornesshe Colshull for glassyng ye grete window in ye new chamber at Batnal, conteying lxxxij feet, of that ther is of ye armes and ye rowndes abated xvij feet, ye price of everi skochion viij*d.* of everie rownde vi*d.* and everie foote of white glasse v*d.*—xliv*s.* vij*d.*"

This is an interesting entry as showing the price of glass staining early in the sixteenth century. There was also a painted window in the same chamber "on ye east parte, to ye lord's garden," and another in "ye galary towards ye tower."

In 1527, the prior bought in London "ye painted clothes that hangeth on ye new p'lor (parlour) next ye chapell at Batnal, conteynyng in length xxiv yards ij yards and iij quarters deep, at v*d.* half peny, and lvi yards of folery worke, wt. dyvers beests and fulls, xxx*s.*" There was painted cloth hung at "the steyr hedd at ye greate chamber dore," also "above and under ye galaries at Batnall," and he speaks of "lynnen cloth for bordurs of ye litle parl'r within ye litle halle and ye parl'r at Batnall" as costing 12*s.*, and for "sowing of ye honggyng sayes in ye said parl'r and for thryd," 12*d.* The guest chamber at Battenhall was hung with red and green and the

great chamber with "peynted cloths, w't beests, byrds, folorii, fowlis," &c.

Battenhall manor-house no longer exists, and there is no account of the date of its destruction. I am indebted to my friend, Mr. E. Lees, for the following description of its site:—

"The manor-house where the priors of Worcester monastery occasionally resided was situated at Lower Battenhall, where are several embankments showing the boundaries of former large pools, which when in existence must have given a very different aspect to the vicinity than appears at present. Through the midst of the ground once occupied by the pools a little rivulet now flows unheeded, weed-choked, and almost unseen. A portion of a great mound near the farm-house marks the site of the moat, but the enclosure within which the old structure stood has been broken into and is now incomplete. No ancient ruins present themselves anywhere, and there is nothing but the mound and embankments to mark past occupation, unless the foundations of the present barn may intimate the dimensions of the former one attached to the manor-house. The high embankment of the railway now intersects the old Battenhall park, leaving the site of one of the large pools to the west, and the stream that supplied the moat and pools runs under the railroad."

We now come to Crowle manor. Here was also a moated house, believed to have been built in the thirteenth century, and re-built on the old foundations some time before the reformation, probably for the occupation of Prior Moore when he retired from active life. This most interesting building, which was destroyed only three or four years ago, consisted of a half-timbered structure of considerable

size, enclosing with its two wings a large courtyard. It included a chapel, galleries opening from rooms above, beams supported by wooden figures, male and female, nude, and very rudely carved; a fine dining-hall, with carved corbel-heads to support the ceiling; kitchen, with enormous fire-place; and encaustic tiles in great abundance. The moat round the house was complete, and there was a grange or tithe-barn within a few yards of it. "The pigeon-house at Crowle" (says the prior's book) "is in compass by the outward wall xxxij yards." The monastery was supplied at the rate of 120 pairs of pigeons in a year from Crowle alone. I shall ever retain a distinct recollection of this interesting old mansion—

> "A quaint old gable-ended house,
> With oriel windows, diamond-paned,
> And rich oak panellings within,
> By damp and mildew streaked and stained;
> Hung round with hangings that decay,
> Mould'ring in gilded shreds away."

Let us now endeavour to fill up this skeleton of a house from the following inventory found in a paper book among the cathedral records:—

"The provisions for stuff of household and with implements . . . . . o'r man'rs of Crowle, Batnall, and Grymley. By . . . . . father Wm. More, pr'r of Worce'tr and in the said manors remayning upon seynt Philip and Jacob day ye furst day of Ma . . . . in An. Dm. millimo ccccc xxxij et in anno R R. Henri octam xxiiij.

"Crowle—In p'mis in the lord's chamber hanged with sais grene and red the borders peynted ij steyned panes a mattres under the fethbed, a ffether bed, a bowster, a pillow of downe of an ell long, a peyr of blanketts, a second cov'let, a bed clothe of verdure, w't bests, dog, catt, connys, etc., a pillowe of selke w't lyons. a coffur w't locke and key, an awmery w't two durrs, one locke and key. In the second chamber a fetherbed, a bowst'r, two blancketts, a second cov'lett, a bedcloth of ymagery, three turned stoles, a tynnen basen, a voldyng table w't two leves, a tabull w't two stayes at ye ends, a furme in ye study, the study hanged with red and grene says w't peynted bord'rs, two awndyerns, a fyer pycke, a chaffurne, a peyr of balis. In the gest chamber, which was hanged w't peynted clothes of folery, w't bests, fulks, etc., two fether bedds, two bowst'rs, fower blanketts, three plain cov'letts, a bed cloth of green verdure, a tabull with trestulls, an old cheyer, a fyer pyk. In the hall, two tabull burds, w't four trestulls, two furmes, the hall hanged at ye deysse w't red and grene says, the borders peynted. In the p'lo' hanged with peynted clothes, a tabull burde with two trestills, a peyr of litle awndyernes, a fyer pykes. In the kycheon xviij platers, xviij pottyngers, xviij sawcers, six count'fet disshes for potage, iv brasse potts, a posse nett, a greate panne, ij cawtherns. a chaffyng disshe, a great chaffern for wat'r, a brandart, a gredyerne, a fleshhoke, two great racks, two broches, a byrdbroche, a skymer, a brasen morter, w't a yerne pestell, a ston mort'r, w't a pestell of wodd, ij trene platt's, ij ladylls, a basen of tynne. Item, beddstydds, viz., one in ye lord's chamber, one In ye second chamber, ij in ye geest chamber, ij in ye lower chamber next ye p'lor. iiij in ye fower litle chambers next ye dorter, v in the dorter, iiij in the yeatt howsse above and under. In the dorter a table burd w t ij trestylls. Item, vi candilstycks, a holy wat'r tynnell w t a dasshell, a chappell bell, a coffer, w't other stuffe."

A folding table with two leaves was probably a novel introduction at this period; "awndyerns"

were metal fire-dogs, such as we still see on the hearth at farm-houses; "an awm'ry w't two durrs" was a cupboard with two doors; "brooch," a spit; "fyer pyke," a poker or hook; "treen platters" meant plates or dishes of wood; the "dorter" was a sleeping apartment; "tynnell and dasshell," a holy water vessel and sprinkler; "ymagery," figures of animals, trees, or human beings, on the hangings; "folery" and "fulks," may have been foliage or fowls and folk (people); "sawcers," vessels for holding sawce; "cawtherns," cauldrons; and "brandart," a tripod to support a pot.

The extent of the accommodations at Crowle manor-house may be gathered from the fact that it contained nineteen beds, of which four were in the gate-house. The appointments of beds were gorgeous and costly in those days, and yet they often covered mere sacks of straw; feather beds seem to be specially mentioned as exceptions. Thos. Kings was paid twopence a yard for painting the border of the prior's chamber and "ye deysse" (the dais, or highest portion of the apartment) being forty-six yards; and Edmund Glassyar (Edmund the glazier—another of the many instances of the origin of surnames), of Alcester, painted the lower windows of the chapel with the figures of Mary and John, "ix foots and halff," for 4*s.* 12*d.*!! Also he glazed "ye lyttull hole in ye ov'r chapel,"

containing 2½ feet, for 12½*d.*, and the "study window above and under." Thomas Peynter (Thomas the painter) was also employed on the hangings of the parlour, the little study, and the dais in the hall. A whole page of the journal is devoted to the carpentering and other work done at this manor-house. As to the moat—

"Mem. that the mott of Crowle was p'fett made and fynnished upon Seynt Luk's yeven in ye yere of our LORD 1533 by Wm. More, p'r of W'r. which mott cost in ye hoole charges viij*li.* xix*s.* iij*d.*" (It was 40 ft. broad.)

This being scarcely two years before the prior's retirement to Crowle, taken in connection with the other extensive works done there, has the appearance of a preparation for that event. He also provided "two ymags (images) with theyr tabernacles (canopies) gylt, oon of them of Our Ladye and other of Seynt Katerine, xxvi*s.* viij*d.*, which ymags byn in ye chapel at Crowle."

The remaining items connected with Crowle are devoted to feasting and merry-making. The good prior gave his servants 5*s.* to spend at Wm. Smythe's wedding. The villagers had a bonfire on St. Thomas's night, to which he contributed 9*d.* (figures should be multiplied by 10 to express their present value):—

"Spende at ye boonfy'r at ye Crosse in Crowle on Seynt Thomas nyght amongst the hole neyb'rs of ye seid towne,

iij*d*., in kaks (cakes), a pottell and a quarte of red-wyne, a pottell of sacke vi*d*."

There are minstrels and others at "Mast'r Wynt'rs* at Seynt James daye," and the prior is one of the party; see also how he encourages the players and singers:—

"St. James and St. Anne daye at Crowle, rewards to ye tennants of Clyve pleyng with Robyn Whot (Robin Hood), Mayde Marion, and other, vi*s*. viij*d*."

"To the maydens of Crowle for singinge on holyrowde daye in the morning towards our lady lyght xx*d*."

"For a bagpipe, ij*s*. viij*d*."

"To four singing men craftsmen of Wircester upon Saynt George's daye in the morning at Crowle, xvi*d*."

"Six maids at Crowle yt did singe in the morning on St. Philip and Jacob daye, xvi*d*."

It is clear that the people of the middle ages were much merrier and far more sociable than those of the nineteenth century, although not enjoying one-fourth of our blessings, domestic comforts, or liberties. From the above memoranda we also learn that minstrelsy on saints' days was much encouraged.

Prior Moore occasionally visited the district of Lindridge, Pensax, the Moore (which I have supposed to be his native place), and Bewdley, and there too the love of feasting and hospitality prevailed. The baron of Burford's servant brings him

* The Winters lived at Huddington, an adjoining parish.

a buck, and the prior gives rewards for killing red deer in the forest of Wyre, pays 14*d.* "for wyne spended from Bewdley having strangers," and distributes "rewards to ye wyffs (wives, or women) of Burraston, Pensax, Moore, and Newenh'm, to make mery amongs them;" also "rewards when I went from ye More xiij*s.* iv*d.*" Was this a visit to old friends and relatives? Once the prior put down 13*s.* 4*d.* "for ryding to Parshore when ye abbot of Wynchecombe was there," and no doubt very little mortification of the flesh resulted from the meeting of the two jovial ecclesiastics. But unquestionably the journey to the metropolis was the great event. He writes in 1529:—

"On Thursday Seynt Symon and Juds day I rod towards London and ther remayninge till Seynt Lucie daye which daye I come home, ye hoole is 47 dayes, viz., six weekes and fower dayes."

On another occasion he was but nineteen days in London, and took eleven horses for himself and suite. His servant Andrew and others accompanied him, and the reparation of saddles, bridles, girths, &c., is a constant and conspicuous charge—rough riding as it was then in both highway and byeway —as also alms and benevolences to all kinds of people met with on the road.

At Pershore the prior bought a silk hat-band for twopence, gave the players at Evesham 4*s.* 4*d.*, and

3*s.* 4*d.* to the scholars at Oxford; and when he arrived in town he gave my lord of Winchester a fresh salmon, which cost the very heavy sum (for those days) of 12*s.* 8*d.*, also sturgeon, pyckrells, and baked lamprey; to the king's footmen 2*s.* 8*d.*; the lord cardinal's footmen 20*d.*; and gratuities to

[AN ABBOT TRAVELLING. FROM ST. ALBAN'S BOOK (NERO, DVIJ). THE ABBOT WEARS A HAT OVER HIS HOOD, AND IS GIVING A BENEDICTION TO SOME PASSING TRAVELLER.]

the Grey and Austin Friars. In fancy I can see the fine old gentleman, with his attendants and servant-men, pushing through the narrow gabled purlieus of the great town, looking out for shops and stores, wherefrom to satisfy the wants of themselves and the monastery. At one place he buys "a satten hatt" for 4*s.*, gets his "clocke" (may be either cloak

or clock) mended for half-a-crown, lays in stores of books for the monastic library (as I have shown in another part of this work), makes a purchase of a brace of "lethern bottells" for *2s.*, a dozen fox-bells* for *8d.*, a pair of "kervyng knyffs" for *7s.*, two latten candlesticks for Grimley church at *2s. 4d.*, "three bonetts at iv*s.* vi*d.* a peece" (for his female relations, let us in charity hope, but men's hats were sometimes called bonnets), two pillows of down for 10*s.*, a "peece of calander for a cowle, w't ye making and selk at Westminster, xvij*s.*," a "carpet of verdure" (green cloth), six yards long, for *22s. 8d.*, lays in a stock of prunes, mace, sugar, raisins, pepper, almonds, rice, saffron, cloves, dates, fine ginger, and cinnamon, and then bethinks him of the services of John Crancks, the silver smith, who is to make the prior a new mitre. Crancks is a shrewd man of business, and had recently sent

* The Rev. Mackenzie Walcott thinks these fox-bells were falcons' (fowken) bells; but Mr. Albert Way suggests that they were bells to take foxes, and says that in Harl. MS. in the Brit. Mus., 604, f. 104, there is a curious fragment of an inventory, which he believes to have been of the contents of the home of the prior of Worcester. In it is the following: "A haye nette with bellis to take foxis: vi fox nettys with bellis to take foxis; ij lanterns, a bowet (a kind of lantern), also netts for partridges, larks," &c. In Prior Moore's journal is an item "To Wall for knyttyng of a new loue nett for partriches and larks xviij*d.*" I am unable to explain the mediæval practice of netting foxes by the aid of bells, but I think the solution offered by Mr. Haywood, of Broad-street, Worcester, is the most likely, namely, that in some country districts at the present day bells are hung on the necks of ewes to keep the foxes from the lambs, and that these are called fox-bells.

the prior a new year's gift of two boxes of biscuits, for which he is now to reap the reward of a good order. Here are the materials and cost of the said mitre:—

"Pd. to John Crancks ye ole smyth of London for alman'r of stuff belongyng to ye new myt'r w't ye making of ye same as hitt appereth by p'cells following:

"Imp. fyve greate stones xvi*s.* viij*d.*

"For $\overset{xx}{iiij}$ and vi (86) stones p'c viij*d.* a peece to ye fronts lvij*s.* iv*d.*

"xxi stones set in golde weyng d'i * unces xiij*s.* iv*d.*

"xl medyll stonys p'c vi*d.* a stone xx*s.*

"For $\overset{xx}{iij}$ and xv (75) smal stones p'c iv*d.* a stone to garnesshe xxv*s.*

"iij unce and quarter fyne peerll at iij*li.* the unce iij*li.* xv*s.*

"iij unces medull peerle at x*s.* vi*li.* †

"The sylver work weys in all $\overset{xx}{iiij}$, xiij (93) uncs, which is w't ye fassheon and all xxiv*li.* xv*s.*

"To the broderar (embroiderer) six weks xij a daye besyde mete and drynke xxxvi*s.*

"Pd. for linen clothe to coweche ytt over w't perll vij*d.*

"For sylke, thred, ye seid perll, and steche ye peerll one unc and di' (a half) xviij*d.*

"For yalow thrid, i*d.*

"Rybande of iv*d.*, brede (braid) ij yeards viij*d.*

"Rybande of ij*d.*, brede a yeard ij*d.*

"Rownde sylk about ye bordur i*d.* ob. (1½*d.*)

"For red sylk to sow hytt w't all di' gr't ye unc (half a groat or 2*d.* the oz.) ij*d.* ob. (2½*d.*)

"Item, for past iv*d.*

"For a qrtr of sarcenett to lyne hytt xiv*d.*

"For a case to ye myt'r of leth'r iv*s.*

"Sum. tot. xlix*li.* xv*s.* ye costs of ye myt'r."

* Half ounces.

† It will be observed that the scribe's arithmetic was greatly at fault in this and the preceding item.

This was an enormous outlay for the period in question (1522). Ten years afterwards John Crancks makes for the prior of Worcester a new seal:—

"It'm to John Crancks for makyng and gravyng the pr's newe seale weying iij unces for to serve hym yt shalbe pri'r hereafter. The scripture of the said seale is on ye on side 'Sigill'm prior' Wigornie,' and the scripture on the other side ——"

This blank is filled up in another manuscript thus:—

"Oswaldus patres Wulstanus monachorum,
Servant hos fratres deleant comissa reorum."

The convent seal seems to have undergone occasional alteration, for in another MS. I find the inscription to be—

"Sigillum conventus eccl'ie Cathedralis beate Dei genitricis Marie Wigornie."

The seals of many religious houses had nothing on them but the image of their patron saint, which Matthew Paris says was required of them "ob majorem reverentiam." Sometimes the founders were represented on the seals kneeling and praying to the patron saint, and had their arms either over their heads or underneath.

More jewellery was provided at the same time:—

"To John Crancks for pullesshyng of a stone and makinge of a gold ringe iij*s.* iiij*d.*

"Paid to John Crancks for a sygnet ryng gylt ij*s.* viij*d.*

"For a gylt spone w't a ymage of our Ladye weyng ij onces iiij*s.*

"For a peyr of balance to wey silver or plate xij*d.*"

On another occasion—

"Bo't at London a new standing cupp gylt w't a cover, weyng xxv onces vi*li.* iij*s.*

"An ale cupp gylt with cover xvj onces lxxviij*s.*

"ij q't pootts of silver parcell gylt lxvi onces xiij*li.*

"A new coope of cloth of gold therid in hym (thread in it) iiij yards p't of a yeard lxvi*s.* viij*d.*

"The offrey of nyle (needle?) warke vij*li.* and makyng and lynyng w't rybbands x*s.*

"For ye makyng of ye best chales (chalice) to ye lord's chapel xxxvi*s.*

"For making ij pottell* potts of silver and parcell gylt plain weyng c. onces lxvi*s.* viij*d.*

"Fower gylt spones w't ymages at ye ends, making grete chales sylver and gylt with mony stones in ye futt weyng xxxv ob. unces xxxij*s.* vi*d.*

"For making of my ryng w't ye amyties (amethyst) stone xiv*s.*"

Frequent mention is made not only of new plate but of the old being repaired. Wm. Dysse, of London, was vestment maker to the prior and convent, and probably supplied some of the above items. Spoons, it will be observed, were usually ornamented at the ends with the heads of the SAVIOUR, the Virgin, the apostles, &c. Prior Moore also takes advantage of his being in London to purchase two nightcaps for 9*d.*, sheets, carpets, a

* Half a gallon.

drinking cup of green "byrral" (beryl) for 2*s.*; four "kerchews" (handkerchiefs), 6*s.*; a "boggett" (bucket?) 9*d.*; a "quart bottell of tynne for aqua vite," 8*d.*; a "voldyng yalow tabull, being in ye greate chamber," 20*s.* He also buys—

"Two great candlestycks for J'hu's awter* for tapurs xlvi*s.* viij*d.*

"Bo't at London ij dexts with ij egulls, one to be in ye quier and the other at ye hye awter to rede ye gospell apon, with iiij candlestycks xv*li.* xiij*s.*

"Bo't fower grete bolled candlestycks for talow candylls vi*s.* viij*d.* with a holy water stocke."

We have now had sufficient travelling and shopping with my lord prior, and so let us return with his goodly company to the monastery at Worcester and record the sayings and doings there. It will be readily concluded that with such frequent and long-continued absence from home the prior must have deputed the government of the monastery to other hands. The sub-prior was accordingly the real ruling power at home for the greater part of the year. In 1520 appears in the journal—

"Item, upon blake† Monday in ye furst wyck of Lent I made Dan Ro. Neckh'm supp'r (sub-prior) and Dan Robert Alchurche sexten scrutatores for ye ov'seyng of all officers, in repa'cons of ye tenements, and yt no officer doth repayre but ther as they apoynt hit, also they to have a view of all ye plate in ye monastrye in everie man's kepyng, also to have a

* Jesus chapel, it will be hereafter seen, was where the prior intended his own body to be buried.

† Black, or doleful.

veow of al maner of stuffe in everie man's office both beddyng and hulsolde stuff and boks in ye cleyst'r* almery, portuos, jornalls, annualls, etc., and to make an inventory of ye same the on p'ty therof to remain in thyer hands, the other to remayn in my handes, so that everie blake Monday the seyd inventry shal be red in ye chapter howse for ye savegard of ye same."

This Neckham was probably the individual we find accompanying Master Foxford as commissaries for the prior in visitations to the subordinate religious houses in the diocese during the vacancy of the see in 1522, when Julius de Medicis had resigned the bishopric. It has been before stated that the government of the see devolved upon the prior and convent during such vacancies. Messrs. Neckham and Foxford, in rendering an account of their stewardship, describe their journey to Pershore, Tewkesbury, Gloucester, Bristol, and back by way of Cirencester, Winchcombe, Evesham, and Pershore. With their refection at Pershore they are treated to pears, a little incident which reminds us of the tradition that the town in question derived its name from the abundant growth of that fruit. But what will be thought of the knowledge of local geography possessed by the party when it is stated that a guide was employed to conduct them from

* Books in the cloister, used by the monks in transcribing or studying. The mural recesses for the aumbreys, or cupboards, in which as I suppose these books were deposited, may be seen in the engraving on the frontispiece.

Pershore to Tewkesbury, at a cost of 4*d.*! They are sadly addicted to drinking in the morning, as well as after supper; but then it should be remembered that ale and other liquors had not then been superseded by tea. Quantities of "secke," at 4*d.* a quart, were consumed. "Shaving and almes" are put down in one item, at 9*d.*, and a poor friar picks up 4*d.* from the party. At Gloucester they dine with the abbot, and give his servants 10*d.* and his chaplain 4*d.* They also drink at a tavern, where fire and candle are among the things specially charged. Shoeing of horses is a constant item, and no wonder when we consider the state of the roads at that time. At Gloucester they pay 3*d.* "for wesshyng of clokes and boots," and Master Foxford buys a "hatt bond" for 4*d.*, while at "Bristowe" he invests 3*s.* 4*d.* in "a bonett." They give the "waits" (musicians) 8*d.*, and the subsexton and clerk at "Sisseter" 8*d.* The total of their outlay was £8. 15*s.* 4*d.* Nothing is said of their doings on the highways, but we must supply them from imagination. Monks were enjoined to sing psalms in their journeys along the roads, and pilgrims and other travellers frequently did the same. Bishop Wulstan, as soon as he mounted his horse, began the psalter, and added litanies according to the distance he had to go.

The prior's residence at Worcester was on the

south side of the choir of the cathedral, to which there was an approach through the cloister by a Norman passage, still remaining, and also adjoined the Guesten-hall, where visitors were entertained. The priory was built in 1225 by William de Bedford, the twenty-third prior. After the reformation it became the deanery, and was destroyed not many years ago. The journal alludes to the stone chamber and the green chamber, the former as being hung with a linen cloth called "sultwyche,"* and the latter as having thirty-three yards of border painted by Thomas Kings "when the prince's counsell was at Worcester." Most probably this was the council of the marches of Wales, which occasionally sat at Worcester. That there was a very un-Benedictine amount of indulgence in this house is apparent from the "six mattresses bought at Palmesontyde to ley under fether bedds," "the pillow of grene and red silke for my pewe," "a bedd cloth of fyne worke w't dog and catte, connys (rabbits), and other beasts" (these animals were worked or painted on the hangings), another "bed-cloth of dyvers bests and verderers," cushions stuffed with flocks and covered with leather, the fine diaper and damask linen for table and cup-board cloths, and "to Wm. Spycer in ye Brode

* This word has puzzled my antiquarian friends. Rev. M. Walcott thinks it meant a coarse cloth, as "sultrege" is still the Wiltshire provincialism for a woman's coarse apron.

Strete for xij peces of tewke for hangyngs of chambers," &c. When the custom of painting the walls of rooms declined, in the fourteenth century, tapestry was more generally used; Arras became celebrated for its fabric, large quantities of which were imported into England, and much was also made here—

> "Clothes of gold and arras were hang'd in the hall,
> Depaynted with pyctures and hystoryes many folde."

Afterwards stamped leather and wainscoting became the fashion. The luxuries evidently enjoyed by prior Moore were vastly different from the condition of things when, as a poor monk, he was first "shaven into ye religion," with a very long and uncertain prospect of making his way through the menial grades of subserviency, discipline, and self-denial, up to the highest rank. When once that position was gained he seems to have become easily reconciled to his honours and pleasures, liberally dispensed of his good fortune to those around him, rejoiced in social gatherings and a generous diet, left as much of monastic duty as was convenient to be discharged by brother Neckham (as shown by his specially mentioning the occasions when he himself sings mass, during the visits of the Princess Mary or other magnates), is profuse in plate, jewellery, and fine vestments, and when he retires from the office is considerably in debt.

There is an inventory of the prior's vestments, which includes many articles already mentioned, likewise a "coope of blewe felweth with *oysters* fethers" (no doubt a cope of blue velvet with ostrich feathers), and 4¼ yards of "wolsted to make my cowle." Much of this work was done by the convent tailor, who had a lodging somewhere at the west end of the cathedral; and who also, it appears, sewed the bed-ticks and mended the hangings. The prior also mentions "kyrtylls of new cloth, with lining, ryding coopes, with ye ribbands," down pillows, "carpetts to ye tabulls," "linnen cloth for ye long tabuls," "to a man yt mended my carpet of arrys worke ix*s.* iiij*d.*;" &c. Even the reparation of his boots and the furring of his sleeves are invariably entered in the journal—

"To John Taylor (John the tailor) for makyng lynyng of a peyr of sleves vi*d.*"

Riding boots are mentioned in distinction from ordinary boots, and Edward Blewet receives 12*d.* for "vampeyng of botts." The "bucksyller's wife" gets 20*d.* for makyng and cov'yng of my hatt with selke half a ell (yard) of satten;" and a "new hatt of felt, with sarsenet and velvet to the same," costs 5*s.* 1*d.* John Clare was the pewterer to the establishment, and to him in 1523 the prior furnished a quantity of old metal in exchange for "platts,

pottyngs, and sawcersse, p'c for exchange of everie pound, *id.* ob." (price 1½*d.*); and three years afterwards—

"To John Clare, pewterar, for the renewyng of ye hoole tale yt were lost in iiij yeere of platters, pottyngeres, and sawcers, both belongyng to ye kytchen at Wircester, Grymley, Batnall, in ye which remayneth at Wyrcester fower garnesshe, at Grymley one garnesshe and half, and at Batnall xviij platters, xvij pottyngers, and xi sawcers, and at Crowle a gernysshe and half, viij*s.* ix*d.* For half garnysshe to Batnal xij*s.* x*d.* For half garnisshe of dishes for ye kychen at Wircester xv*s.*"

A "garnish" meant a set or service of ware. The following curious items appear in the compotus rolls *temp.* Edward IV. and Henry VII.:—

"In discis ligneis emp. xx*d.*

"In discis de pewter xxij*s.*

"In duob's vasis de novo fact. vocat. trayes p. c'rbo* in eisd'm ponend. hoc a'o xx*d.*

"In repar. vasor. ligneor. viij*d.*

"In circulas vasor. xiij*d.*

"Solut p. duoden. discor. de electro cownturfeit xiv*s.*

"Ladells et streyners empt."

These interesting entries show that wood and pewter were used promiscuously for plates and dishes, and that the word "trays" was in use in the sixth year of Henry VII. The Latin word "vas" had a comprehensive meaning in regard to

* "Cerbus" was a vessel or measure for wheat or barley. Fabyan, in his Chronycle, speaks of "treys" (A. S. *troge*, "a trough or tray," Somner). Or it might have been "carbo" for charcoal; and the item would then mean vessels for holding fuel.

household goods, but in these rolls it seems to have been chiefly used for trays, tubs, or buckets: while "discus" was applied to plates, or platters and dishes, the words "orbis" and "scutella" not having been met with, though they may have escaped me. There were square as well as round trenchers in use. The "electro-counterfeit" dishes would at first seem to forestall a very modern invention, and to intimate that there is nothing new under the sun. Electrum however was the name of a mixed metal fabricated as early as the time of Pliny. The real compound was made by the ancient Greeks, four parts of gold and one of silver. The imitation was called "cownterfett"—in old German "counterfey." Probably a mixture of brass and tin, but also sometimes applied to pewter. Prior Moore also speaks of "twelve spoones, with ye xij apostles, ye apostles gilt." These were probably of silver, and the apostles' heads at the ends were of gilt—a common style of ornamentation, and sometimes they had "strawberry ends," maidens' heads, and other devices. The sixteenth century was a great era for plate—a description of property more portable and convenient than some others, whether for concealment or for raising money—in other words pledging, which prevailed to a considerable extent even among the higher classes, as I find that in the

reign of Queen Elizabeth Bishop Whitgift's wife sold or disposed of a dozen of her spoons to a Worcester clothier.

Another instance of the prior's grandeur was when he sat at the sessions—

"To Thos. Morysse, ye constabul of ye castyll, for ye leyng ye quysshen (laying the cushion) for me at ye sessheons, iij*s.* iiij*d.*"*

But the culminating point in Prior Moore's history is the record of the honours he received from royalty. In 1521 he writes—

"It'm, rec. for offeryngs at ye hye awter when I sang masse on Seynt Wulstan's day iij*s.* iiij*d.* in gold by my lady prynces.

"It'm for iij crownes of gold offered in tapurs, ij peces by my lady princess tap'r and one pece by my ladie Salesbury, I synginge masse on Candylmas day.

"It'm, a crowne of golde in Est'r daie for ye offringe of my lady princes, I syngng ye hie mass at ye hie awter."

This could have been no other than the Princess Mary, who afterwards became queen. At the time of her visit to Worcester, therefore, she was but five years old. Four years afterwards the princess repeated her visit to Worcester monastery, arriving in the third week after Christmas and staying here and at Battenhall manor-house with the prior till after Easter, when the princess and suite went to pay the bishop a visit at Hartlebury. The princess and

* Did he sit as justice of peace *ex officio*?

the prior had previously taken a ride to Evesham and Cropthorne. The journal records the payment of the large sum of 53*s.* 4*d.* as "rewards to the servants belonging to ye princess chamber," and to her other servants 66*s.* 8*d.* In the following year (1526) a third visit from Princess Mary is recorded, without details. Notices of births of two others of the royal family are entered in the journal, thus:—

"Item, to a servant of ye king yt brought a letter from the queen Anne (Boleyn) specifyinge that she was delyv'd of a princess at Grene Wyche, who was born Wednsdey fift day of Sept. and cristened the Fryday after, whose name is Elizabeth, vij*s.* vi*d.*" [Other authorities assign Sep. 7 as the date of her birth.]

The other birth is that of Prince Edward (Ed. VI.): "born of Queen Jane at Hampton Court," Oct. 1537.

The bailiffs (mayors) and corporation of the city were frequent visitors at the monastery in Prior Moore's time. They dined with him in the Guesten-hall on New Year's eve, "ye balis and all skarlet gowns," that is, the twenty-four, or principal citizens of the corporation; also at Easter, on Christmas day "after evensong," on St. Thomas's day, occasionally on a Sunday or after a civic perambulation, and once "the bayliffs and theyr wyffs and other of ye cytie with theyr wyffs xviij (eighteen of them) dined with me Sonday Seynt John's daye,

iij*li.* iij*s.* xi*d.*" They drank malmsey, osey, red wine, rumney, sack, pyment, hippocras, claret, and Rhenish wine, and had "wafers" (sweetmeats); while to amuse them after the feasts were introduced singers of "carralls," players of Gloucester (on a Sunday), "chyldren yt tumbled," four players of Coventry, minstrels, or "popet pleyers." These artists were in great request in monasteries and other large houses. Companies of players and minstrels strolled through the country under licence from the king or some nobleman whose name they bore, and seemed to have been entertained and rewarded wherever they went, without questioning, till the puritanical spirit of the seventeenth century nearly effected their ruin. In Prior Moore's journal we read of the king's minstrels, of "John English and his three fellowes ye king's players," of "John Sly* and his companie," of "Thomas Brandon ye kinges jeoggler and servants," "to ye kyng's jugeler and his blynd harper vi*s.* viij*d.*," and "to three of ye kynges mynstrells, with ye schambulls† vi*s.* viij*d.*," likewise a minstrel belonging to the master of the king's horses, two minstrels of my lord of Shrewsbury, "minstrels on our Lady-day, ye nativitie,"

* A nickname probably.

† Mr. Way supposes this word is equivalent to "schalmys" or "schalms" (shawms in Scripture), long trumpets much in fashion; but Mr. Walcott suggests with greater probability that it was cymbals.

minstrels on Advent Sunday, "four singers on our dedication day in ye morning," minstrels on "quittide* Sunday," "ye dowk of Suffock's trumpeters," "to my lord cardinall's mynstrells," "to a mynstrel of Sir George Throckmorton," "Wyett and his minstrells," "to Philip ye harper for hys being with us till after Neweyer's day, iij*s.* iv*d.*" Some of these minstrels stayed at the monastery a fortnight at a time.

> "Merry it is in halle to hear the harpe,
> The minstrelles synge, the jogelours carpe."

Many bishops, abbots, and some of the nobility, kept domestic harpers, and it was said of Grosteste, bishop of Lincoln—

> "He loved moche to here the harpe
> . . . . . .
> Next hys chamber besyde hys study
> His harper's chamber was fast the by.
> Many tymes by nightes and dayes
> He had solace of notes and layes."

And there were local performers at Worcester, as "ye pleyers of Seynt Mychell's," "c'ten yonge menn of Seynt Elyns yt played Robyn Whod," "to Robyn Whod and Little John of Ombersley," "to ye box of Robyn Hood xij*d.*" These two last-named performances were held on a Trinity Sunday.

* Quittide seems to have been a time for tenancies to expire. Mr. Walcott suggests that it was probably Whitsuntide, as "white" is sometimes spelt "gwite."

The adventures and exploits of the bold outlaw, Robin Hood, and his associates, were highly popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "To ye singers of ye town on our dedication day in ye morning," "to dawncers of ye passhe" (Easter), "to ye mayden's box of Seynt Michell's xx*d.*," "to ye boxe of ye showe of St. Peter's," "ye dauncers of Seynt Sewthan's," &c. These shows, for which subscription boxes were carried round, were pageants held in each parish generally on the dedication day of the church, as—

"To a box of St. Andros showe on ye dedication daye xij*d.*"

"Fyve galands of wyne of redd and clarett for ye fyve pageants and other times, v*s.* vi*d.*"

"Rewards to Alhaland churche at the pley holden at Hynwyck Hall Seynt Thomas yeven, being Sonday, and on Seynt Thomas day being Monday, which pley was kept to the p'fett of Alhaland church, vi*s.* viii*d.*"

There is no one fact recorded in this work which strikes us more forcibly as marking the great change of social habits and opinions than this—of a play being held at Henwick Hall on a Sunday and Monday, and sanctioned by the highest church authorities of the city, for the benefit of the poor living of All Saints. But to return to the monastic feastings. When my lord of Canterbury, as visitor, spent four days here in 1533 the then large sum of £5. 7*s.* was spent on his grace's

entertainment and his household on the feast of St. John. A subordinate abbot was much less costly to the establishment—

"For mawmesey wyne spended apon ye abbot of Wynchecombe w't spyce to ye same, ij*s.* iiij*d.*"

Prior Moore bought the bulk of the wine consumed in the monastery from his brother, Robert Peers, who seems to have been a merchant at Bristol—

"Receyved ij hoggsheds of Gaston wyne, on of red and ye o'r of claret, from Robert Peers of Bristowe ye p'ce of ev'yon (every or each one) xxiiij*s.* vi*d.*, summa xlviij*s.* ye caryage xij*d.*"

"A teers (tierce) of white wyne of Spaine from Bristowe."

Robert likewise sends his brother as a "yeresiff" (new year's gift) "a pottell of mawmesey." There is no mention of cider, or home-made wines, or vineyards at Worcester monastery, though we know that the vine was much cultivated in this county and neighbourhood. Bishop Swinfield's vineyard at Ledbury yielded seven pipes of white wine and nearly one of verjuice in 1289. Bristol was the great mart for foreign wine, and the custom was to send a trustworthy servant to accompany the cargo up the Severn home, to prevent the malpractices of boatmen. The expenditure in this department may be estimated from an entry in the time of Edward IV.:—

"In vino rubeo, albo, et dulci, emp. p. expens' d'm prioris cu' exp. d'ms abbot' Evesh'm, abbot. de P'shore, abb't de Bordesley, justic. d'm reg's, ac al. magnat. hoc anno, xxxi*li.* vi*s.* viii*d.* In mede, bragot, et metheglyn, emp. ho. a'o, xij*s.* viij*d.*"

Visits of the royal family, justiciaries of the king, bishops, abbots, and noblemen, were a heavy item of conventual expenditure. Some ideas concerning wines and their fundamental qualities were picked up and recorded by the worthy prior in the following verses, in which are likewise specified certain antidotes against mortal venom:—

"Allea, nux, ruta, pira, raphanie, et tiriaca,
Hec sunt antidot' contra mortale venen'.
Sunt nutritiva plus dulcia candida vina.
Vina probant'r odore, sapore, nitore, olore,
Si bona cupis vina: hec tunc probant'r in illis,
Fforcia, formosa, fragrancia, frigida, frisca.
Caseis et anguilla mors extat ille vel illa,
Si non vina bibis et rebibendo bibas,
Est caro porcina sine vino peior o (v) ina
Si tribuis vina tunc est o'ibus ut med (icina)."

Allea, or allium, was garlick, believed to be an enemy to all cold poisons and to the biting of venomous beasts; therefore Galen nameth it "theriaca rusticorum," or the husbandman's treacle. Nux (nuts): Gerard says that walnuts are good against the bite of a mad dog or man if they be laid upon the wound. Ruta (rue): the leaves of rue eaten with the kernels of walnuts were supposed to resist

poison and all venom. Pira: pears, were reckoned good in case of hot swelling. Raphanus (radish): "In cibo raphanum venenis resistit." Tiriaca: treacle, "must enter down into the body, and then it expelleth all venom and poison." Mr. Gough Nichols has freely rendered the lines relating to wine thus:—

"White wines, if sweet in taste and scent,
The more they yield of nourishment.
To prove all wines these points you well must weigh:
Their scent, their flavour, brightness, and bouquet.
To find good wines for F's I'm ever rigid:
They're fat, they're fine, they're fragrant, fresh, and frigid.
A cheese and an eel
Up death may steal
From one or the other,
If no wine you drain,
Aye again and again,
Without any bother.
Pork worse than mutton is if without wine.
If you give wine to all 'tis medicine."

Malmsey (from Napoli di Malvasia, in the Morea) was drunk on Twelfth-day; sweet wine on "Quittyde Sunday," Advent Sunday, Allhallows day, St. Wulstan's day, and—

"For wine from Crismass even till New Yere's day be past, xvs."

That was, as it still continues, the period of the greatest festivity throughout the year, when minstrels, players, and others, who happened to be at the

monastery on their travels, were detained till the festival had terminated:—

"Item for wyne to dyn'r on Christmasse day one q't of mawmsey, brawne for ye balyffs at nyght in ye grete hall, ij doz. of wafurnes, a pottel of osey,* and a pottel of rumney."†

Refectorarius charged for wassailing one year in the reign of Henry VII. thus:—

"Et in pane et servisia et p. aliis necess'iis in villa emp. p. le wessell in vigilia Epiphani ho' anno, v*s*."

The house supply of bread and beer had fallen short probably in consequence of an unusually heavy demand, and so recourse was had to what the city could furnish. Then again—

"Rewarded to William ye Lewter for his singing and pleying in ye Chrismass wicke."

Is not this "William ye Lewter" the veritable artist who is depicted in the illumination on one of the frontispiece engravings?

The "grace before meat" used at Worcester monastery is likewise recorded in this interesting journal. Here it is:—

"Gracia in refeccione dicenda p' sum' pontifice' modernu' composita est. Et o'ib's eand'm dicentib's indulgen. concedunt'r p' eunde' xl annos et tot q'dragem. Benedicite d'ns

* A kind of white "wine of Ossey," mentioned in "The Squyr of Lowe Degre" and other early poems.

† A table wine imported from Hungary, and considered good for digestion.

quod appositu' est et apponet'r p' v'bm ihu xri s'tificet', in no'ie patris et filii et sp' s'cti, Amen."

"This grace to be said at refection is composed by the present pope. And to all saying the same indulgences are granted by him for forty years, and as many (?) Bless, O LORD, what is placed before us and shall be placed before us; by the word of JESUS CHRIST may it be sanctified, in the name of the FATHER and of the SON and of the HOLY GHOST, Amen."

This grace is accompanied by a curious list of rules for thought and demeanour, to be observed by the monks at table as I suppose; it is this:—

"Be oon | refresh 2 | take witness of 3 |
a voyde 4 | thyncke 5 | behold 6 |
and cal for 7 | "

Mr. J. Gough Nichols suggests that this is a kind of riddle, and probably means—

Be oon—*i. e.* be united.

Refresh 2—take a refection or meal twice a day.

Take witness of 3—witnesses?

Avoyd 4—you have to say what four things you would most avoid.

Think 5—times.

Behold 6 } meaning unknown.
Call for 7 }

To aid the prior's feasts the abbot of Bordesley sends a side of venison, or a buck comes from Malvern chase, Lord Dudley or the abbot of Gloucester contributes "pastry of red deer;" fish, birds, wine, oranges, and other things, are sent by

the tenantry, as shown hereafter; "lyng fish" is bought at Stourbridge fair, herrings at Bristol, "grete resons" (raisins) at Bristol and London, and the following entry looks very much like the introduction of "strong waters" or spirit drinking amongst the brethren:—

"For glasses for 'styllyng wat'rs to ye chapter, xx*d.*"

As early as 1503, among the outgoings was—

"Sol. p' aqua vite, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*"

And Prior Moore, when in London, as before stated, purchased "a quart bottell of tynne for aqua vite." It is sometimes written "aqua vitis," as if vinum igne stillatum. In an inventory of Dan Thomas Goldwyne, monk, sent to Mount Grace (1519): "Item, a duobyll styk to make with aqua vite, that ys to say a limbeke with a serpentyn closed both on onn."* Wines once in great esteem were no longer thought of so highly, and Geneva (gin) and *eau de vie* began to supersede many of them. The aqua vitæ of the time of Henry VII. seems to have been a species of "strong waters," or what we now call "spirits," invented probably as early as the thirteenth century. Ford, in the "Merry Wives," speaks of it as irresistible to an Irishman. It was not brandy, or what we now know by that name,

* Hunter. MS. Brit. Mus. 24, 520, fo. 192.

"brandy" (brent or burnt wine) being derived from the method of its manufacture.

On Maundy occasions (Shrove Thursday) there was probably a feast given to the poor, whose feet were also washed in the frater, or dining hall, as the prior charges for osey and malmsey wine, spice and raisins, "saffryn to ye kaks* and bonds for ye seid Mawndey," and he invariably comforts himself and perhaps a select two or three with a quart of sack or a pottell of rumney in his own chamber after the Maundy. At these feasts the monks and the whole company drank the spiced wine in common out of a maser or bowl. The journal mentions "a maser w't a sengylband (single band), weying iij onces, for ye frayter, xv*s.*," and one with a double band, gilt, costing 13*s.* 6*d.*; also—

"To John Pynson, goldsmith, for makyng and mendyng of the frayt'r and misericord masers xxij*s.* viij*d.*"

Mandies were in general almsgivings arising from specific foundations for that purpose, such as those for the anniversaries of deceased persons, and were so called from *ex mandato*, by express command of their respective founders.

Freely ye have received, freely give—was a canon of Scripture which Prior Moore seems to have faithfully obeyed. His journal, with the minute fidelity

* Yellow colouring for the cakes.

which characterised the autobiographers and accountants of that day, contains evidence of his charities and benevolences to a considerable extent. "Bred to po' folke when I sung masse," "Two shurts to Wm. Begger (William the beggar) a pore young mann," "To Mr. Thomas for heelyng Dan Richard Synger disyesse of brekyng owte,"* "To a monk of lyttul Malvern," "To the d'm's of ye passheon's† of Seynt Jones towards ye losses and charges of a skipe;" and the poor friars—whose introduction had at first been contemplated by the convent with jealousy and alarm—were regular recipients of monastic bounty on Advent Sunday and many other feast-days:—

"To ye grey fryars upon ye conception day xij*d.*, to ye black fryers xij*d.*"

These were the two friars' houses situate in Worcester.

* These eruptions were much more common with the salted dietary of our ancestors than at present.

† This at first sight appears to read "To the house of the Passionists of St. John's." Mr. Walcott and Mr. Albert Way both suggest that it was intended to be "To divers of the parishioners of St. John's"—a reading which would seem to be by far the most likely one, especially as no house of the Passionists in St. John's has ever been mentioned in our local history that I know of. But in that case it would not have read "To *the* divers of the parishioners," and moreover there are frequent entries plainly written of sums "paid to the Passionists in quadragesima." Can any one of my readers offer a suggestion as to who these Passionists of St. John's were? Were they ferrymen? Du Cange says that "passionaticus" was "droit du passage," and "passus" is the Low Latin translation of a passage or ferry. Were they connected with the Templars, who had a house near St. John's?

"To ye blake ffryrs for ther solas (solace) xij*d.*
"Fowr pyes of lampurnes bake and gyff a mongs all ye grey fryurs xij*d.*"

When Bishop Sylvester's obit was sung, in 1521, the black and grey friars were not only allowed to sing mass and dirge in the cathedral, but received 3*s.* 4*d.* each for their fee, and—

"For bred to ye dryncking for ye convent and ye two fry'rs in ye frayt'r, xviij*d.*, in ale ij*s.* vi*d.*, three cheses vi*d.*"

Three quarts of some nice beverage, not specified, were paid to "Mawte ye cat'r (caterer) for washyng of ye frere Rog's geere." This was probably a poor itinerant whose clothing had got into a disreputable condition.

The prior pays nearly £12 "to Thomas Stilgo for gylding and peynting of ye ymags Ch'us and o'r Lady (images of Christ and the Virgin) in ye mydd of ye awtur in Seynt Cecilis chapell, and lynnen cloth that covereth ye new gilt front of ye seyd chappell and for gyldyng all other ymages with curtens." He gives three donations towards building St. Martin's new tower, or steeple, amounting to 11*s.*, 6*s.* 8*d.* "towards ye new place at Alhaland (All Saints) church," gives 10*s.* "for that I offered at St. Oswald's church at Master Colyns fyrst mass synging St. Lucie day," subscribes 3*s.* 4*d.* "to ye sexten of Moche (Great) Malverne to ye byldyng

of ye parish church there," 5*s.* "to p'r of Lyttull Malv'ne towards ye loss of his chalesses, being stolen," 11*s.* 3*d.* "to the makynge of a new rowde-loft at Hymmilton church;" 5*s.* "towards ye pryor of Monmouth building of ye church there, being brenned" (burned); 20*d.* is entered to the account of "the bishopp of Yerland" (Ireland) as a subscription probably to the expenses of that prelate on his way home; 100*s.* is given for a horse for the bishop of London, 60*s.* for the saddle, and 10*s.* expenses in conveying the animal to the metropolis. Nor does my lord Cardinal Wolsey deem it beneath his position to receive from Prior Moore, in 1520, the loan of six horses, with saddles, bridles, harness, and "lethyrne halters for them," costing altogether, with conveyance, £15. 7*s.* 2*d.*, towards the cardinal's "jurney to Calys to 'trete of peasse betwene ye French kyng and ye emperor." "Three fresh samons with stuff to bake them" are sent to London, no doubt for some ecclesiastical superior, and "Master Cromwell" receives 53*s.* 4*d.* by way of gift or reward. Moreover the prior was a liberal subscriber to "the hunt," and it would seem kept hounds himself. Hounds were necessary and useful in turning to profit the wild stock upon the manors, and to them was owing the venison which formed such savoury meals and was salted for winter consumption.

"Payd for a grete horne for ye hunt iij*s.* iiij*d.*"

"Rewards to ye kynges hunt xx*d.*"

"To our hunter and his companie for huntyng at Bredon hulls vij*d.*"

"To ye hunt on Cristmass daye (!) xij*d.*"

"To Jas. Badger wyff for my kennell hounds vi*s.* viii*d.*"

"Rewards to Mr. William Skull for hunting otters iij*s.* iiij*d.*"

"For cote to ye ott'r taker vi*s.* viij*d.*"

It was not a century ago that a charge was regularly made in the audit accounts for so much given "for the city huntsman." Mr. Weld, in his "Last Winter at Rome" (pub. 1865) says that the pope was requested to bless the fox-hounds in that city, the season having been a bad one—runs few and brushes fewer—and that his Holiness consented to do so. The result has not been reported, but it would appear from this that the hierarchy, both ancient and modern, was not generally opposed to field sports, though the monks of Finchale in the fourteenth century were reproved for keeping a pack of hounds. Bishop Godfrey captured a stag in Collinggerugge forest without permission of the king, and was indicted, together with his huntsmen and servants, to answer the offence before the king. Bishop Whitgift, it is said, often hunted at Hartlebury park, and in one journey through Kent he killed twenty bucks. Of course the ecclesiastics did not pursue this pastime for

the sake of pleasure, but for health or the necessity of the body. Prior Moore even descends to lesser though perhaps more necessary amusements, by paying a premium of 2*s.* "to Nich's Wryght to lerne to kyll rotts, crowes, chewks" (choughs or pigeons), &c.

"Rewards to ye kyngs hencks man (henchman?) vi*s.* viij*d.*"

"A servant of ye kynges being a taker of horses xx*d.*"

"Rewards to ye kyngs servants being with us w't ye kynges horses, to drynk with theyr veneson v*s.*"

These were men sent round the provinces to collect horses for the king's use.

Allusion has been made to the prior's encouragement of marriage feasts at his various manors. This was not less conspicuous at Worcester and other places:—

"To Anne Pritchett wedyng to Hervington and for costs of my servants there xv*s.*"

"To six of my servants ryding to Alice Fost'r weddyng vi*s.* viij*d.*"

"Mem. that Jone, John Herford's daughter of ye More, was maryde to Robt. Wodwarde of Ynckebarowe on Seynt Emerencion daye ye 23 Jany., to whom I gaff xl*s.* Item, for theyr drynckynge at Rd. Hygons in the Hye strete as they cam rydinge threw Wyrcester from ye More to Ynckebarowe, in wine and caks, v*s.*"

Miscellaneous entries of the prior's charities and benevolences include—

"To (Whitsuntide) church ales of Seynt Elens and Seynt Michells ij*s.* iiij*d.*"

"Rewarded to c'ten persons besyde ye rods for redempcon of a gentleman in Turkey, xij*d.*" (probably a donation to road-side beggars for the deliverance of a captive from Turkish slavery).

"To Ric. Croft for his hussylyng* at Easter evyn xi*d.*"

"To Symonds of Byrmychame to be broth'r of ye geld there vij*s.*"

"To Master John Browgher low bayly goinge to ye Parley-ment v*s.*"

"Towards ye makyng of ye cawsey at ye redhull cross (causeway at Red-hill, about a mile from the monastery) iij*s.* iiij*d.*"

"To Mr. Regist'r for makynge of ye cawsey behynd ye palace iiij*s.* viij*d.*"

"The charges for ye p'vision for a cart for the mayntenance and repayring and mendyng of hyeways aboute Worc'r, which was fyrst begun to be occupied the morowe after vij slepert day in July in anno 1534, D'm Willm. More Priore Wigorn. fyve horses to the cart. Bought a new cartt with yernband whelys at Cameden feyer, xxij*s.* For a grey horse xx*s.* Donne horse xxi*s.* Brown bay horse xxviij*s.* viij*d.* Another grey horse xvi*s.* Another grey horse xxij*s.* For the repylyng and geryng of ye fyve horses xij*s.* Four yerne (iron) clowts and ij yerne

* "Hussyling," or howseling, refers to the sacrament of the Eucharist; see my "Notes and Queries for Worcestershire," p. 31.

† A day kept in honour of the Seven Sleepers, July 27th. This was an absurd legend of seven Christians, in one of the early persecutions, retiring to a cave, where they slept for a hundred years, and then awoke, and finding the new condition of things somewhat extraordinary, after relating their story, expired. In consequence of the miracle they were considered as martyrs, and their relics were highly esteemed. They are included in a list of saints, kings, and martyrs, given in one of the books of Worcester monastery.

pynnes for ye aytrye xviij*d*. For shewyng of ye fyve horses w'th other necessaryes iij*s*. vij*d*. To Thom. Cheysse for making of ye tumberell,* x*d*."

Before the highways were taken under the special care of legislation a considerable portion of the revenue of the prior and convent, and their successors the deans and chapters, was devoted to their repair.

The gifts received by Prior Moore were prodigious in number, especially on New Year's day, from the tenantry, friends, officers of the monastery, bailiffs of manors, and others. The sub-prior contributed "a case to put pennes and ynke in;" the sexton invariably presented him with a gold ring, which sometimes contained a diamond, and once had "a white head;" sub-sexton gave "two torchetts," probably small torches; cellarer once offered "a pillow of grene and red silke for my pewe," and on another occasion he brought a "baskett of orreags" (oranges).† This fruit, stuck with cloves, was a very popular New Year's gift, as also were gloves. Sir Thomas More, when lord chancellor, having given judgment in favour of a certain lady, received on the next New Year's day a pair of gloves, with forty angels inside. In thanking her, Sir Thomas said "It would be against good manners to forsake a

* A low cart or waggon.

† The first oranges were brought from Spain in the reign of Edward I.

gentlewoman's New Year's gift, and I accept the gloves; their lining you will be pleased to bestow otherwise."

Here is a list of good things received on the first New Year's day of the prior's official life:—

"From Thos. Carter ij capons, Ed. Alen of ye Plough a pecock, a peahen, ij capons; Mococke of ye Cardinall's Hatt a lamprey, John Williams ij capons, John Glover of Tyburton a pecocke, John Turnar of Sholton ij capons, a hamparne of wafurnes (sweetmeats?) Edwd. Churche wyff a goose, Nicholas Frynd ij capons, William Hostler ij capons, Wm. ye m'cer ye abbot of Wynchecombs cosyn a fyne hand napkyn, the baly of Newenham viij p'triches a dysshe of trowts and greylyngs, Thos. Wassell a lamb, John of Hardwyck one pygge, Robt. Folyatt vi suyts and teles (suets and tails?) Rd. Bedull one great chese, Rd. Wod of Tedyngton a chesse, ij capons, ij deesen and halfe of larkes, Thos. Cardell ij capons, the amnor a shelde of brawnne, the vicar of Clyve a pehenne, John Horburne of ye same ij capons, John Newman of Herfortun a dysshe of roches, ij deson of larks and halff, John Prycke of ye same ij capons, a goose and ij capons of John Yks wyff of Crowle."

Mococke, tenant of "ye Cardinall's Hatt" (now the Coventry Arms, Friar-street) varied his gift on the next occasion by presenting a "quart of osey and xx orreggs" (oranges). Richard of Sudbury sent a pair of furred gloves; Wm. Coyde, of Wichenford, a hundred "wardens" (large baking pears*); Crancks, the goldsmith, of London, two boxes of biscuits; one Brown a box of "countsetts"

* Warden abbey was so named from its pear orchards.

(comfits or sweetmeats); my lady Sannes (Sandys) "a peyr of great ambur beds (beads) of v setts." Geese, pheasants, "kyt gloves," "pownd gardens" (pomegranates), a "gallon glass of rosewater," a corporas case* from Bordesley, "the figure of our LORD from Stanford," a "peece of marmylade," a tooth-pick garnished with silver gilt from Roger Bury, two wild mallards from master Gower of Woodall, and a "fyne bonett" from master Colyns, —altogether form a catalogue of gifts sufficiently varied. Then there was game from the manors, and articles paid by the tenants under their leases as acknowledgments of service. A hundred couples of rabbits came yearly from Henwick warren; twenty-five couples of rabbits, nine male deer, and five does, from Battenhall; thirteen couples of rabbits, nineteen hernesews† and two peacocks, from Hallow; pigeons from Crowle and from "ye priory yeat" (Edgar Tower, on the top of which pigeons were kept); and rooks were sent by "Master Pakyngton and his wyff from his manor of Hampton," in return for which, wine was given as a present "to ye master of ye rowks."

* A case containing a linen cloth to cover the eucharist.

† Hernesews were herons, probably young ones, from the French *heronceaux*. "Heronshawes" were among the dainties at Archbishop Neville's enthronization, 6th Edward IV. Ash gives "Heronsew, a young heron," in his dictionary; a young bird only could be good eating.

As a lord of the manors, Prior Moore received the confiscated goods of any felons on those estates, and mentions—

"At Alston beside Tedyngton I had fower yowes (ewes) and ten lames of a felon there. Of Rd. Parker's goods of Hallow when he slewe Ric. Taylor of Halowe all his goods and cattell and detts."

Arrears of rent due from "ye cobler at ye lyche gate"* are several times mentioned. "Two peyr of furd boots with sheowes to them, ij*s.* ij*d.*" is booked, but this seems to have been something beyond the common wear, as two pairs of double-soled boots are elsewhere mentioned as costing only 6*d.* A shirt for Roger Knight is put down at 8d.

"For a petycote and a peyr of socks to Roger Knyght w't ye makyng, ij*s.* ij*d.*"

"Fower p'sts petons (priests' patens?) iiij*s.*
"For two yvery cumbes, viij*d.*"

Three pairs of blankets were bought at Bridgnorth fair by Rd. Chylde for 20*s.* and three pairs of ditto "at Wych fair, St. Symon and St. Jude daie, xiij*s.* vi*d.*" Parchment skins were purchased at Evesham, as at the present day; black leather purses at Bristol, from 7*d.* to 1*s.* each; vinegar and salad oil at London and Bristol. Oil cost 20*s.* a hogshead, and "oyle to frye fisshe" was 2*s.* 4*d.*

* Near the present Punch-bowl inn.

a gallon. There are frequent charges made thus—

"P' lichino et olio, xiij*s.* iv*d.*"
"In lichino vocat wykeyarne."
"Ping. e'pt p. campan., xx*d.*"

These articles are oil, yarn for wicks (lichinus, or candlewick), and grease bought for the bells. The purchase of "carbon" is also frequently mentioned, which probably means charcoal for incense and other purposes. Plaster of Paris is mentioned five centuries ago. 7*d.* was paid for a whetstone. Walter Smith received 40*s.* "for ye makyng of a newe lyttull clocke to convey to our manor, and for ye case, iiij*d.*"

We are now approaching the close of Prior Moore's interesting chronicles, but before noticing the preparation he made for his own end let us see how lovingly and carefully he records the death of a brother monk, though a subordinate :—

"Mem. that Dan Robert Alchurche, being sexten, departed to GOD in the sextry a bowte 7 of ye clocke at nyght 10 of Dec. viz., St Damase yeven Anno 1532, who is buryde under a blewe stone before our Ladye Chapel in ye boke of ye church."

Eight years before this period the prior had prepared his own grave stone :—

"Item, to a man for drawing of a platt (plott or design?) for a stonne from London yt is leyde before J'hus awter* for

* In JESUS chapel in the north side of the nave, not far from the great north entrance.

me to be beryde under, which stone cost x*li.* To a man of London besyds ye carage and ye makyng of ye platt, iij*s.* iv*d.*"

"To Mr. Beley for my sepultur tap'r, xij*d.*"

Here then the good man thought to find repose for his body when the soul should have taken its departure to the FATHER of the universe, and many a fervent prayer was no doubt offered up over the site of this his intended resting place; but it was not to be so: causes were in operation which led not only to the abandonment of this intention but to the retirement of the prior from the monastery. The great reformation was even then upon the threshold, and the still small voice of conscience and a foreshadowing of doom admonished lordly abbots and priors to set their house in order. As early as 1522 there was something loose in the administrative department of the convent, for in that year Robert Alvechurch, the sacrist, is made to take an oath to render his accounts to the bishop or his deputy and not to the prior, Wm. Moore, in an upper chamber (alt. camera) above the hall within the sacristy (infra sacristariam) of the church of Worcester. In the first chapter of this work it has been shown that the bishops claimed a control over the sacrists of the cathedral, but in the present instance there seems to have been a special reason for the active exercise of that control. Complaints more or less exaggerated were made to the

visitors by inmates of monasteries who it is not improbable were in some cases disaffected and insubordinate members, if not actually open to bribes for the betrayal of their order. In the case of Pershore abbey, Richard Beerly, one of the monks of that house, wrote to Cromwell, praying to be dismissed from the abbey and otherwise disposed of in consequence of his disgust at "the fowl vycys" perpetrated there, among which he enumerates "ceremonyes made by ondyscrytt faders," bowling, drinking, and card playing, late coming to matins and then frequently in a state of drunkenness, neglect to erase the Bishop of Rome's name from some of the service books, "besydes a secrett thyng which no man may know but my ghostlie fader." In the Cottonian collection at the British Museum is a MS. which, although without a date, bears internal evidence of having belonged to this period, and throws considerable light on the affairs of Worcester monastery previous to the general disruption of the establishment; it is as follows:—

"The decayes of your honorable lordshypps monastery att Worcettur, and the occasion thereof. Right Worshypfull Mastyer Secretary and honorable lorde Visitor, very sory I am to trowbull your lordshyp wth. my y'portune wryting, how be hytt y am so sore wexid wh. siknes yt my co'synce compellyth me to schew the trothe unto yowr good lordschyppe, and now prdoon y remytt all un to yowr hye dys-

crec'on and make an yend for my lyfe. Besekying yowr honorable lordschype, in rev'rence xt, to consyd'r owr nobull pric'ces foundac'on, the whych lands was gyvyn as yowr lordshype do know to mayntaigne the servts of GOD, and to enforce the mynesters thereof, to repare, to kepe hospitalyte, and to gyve almes, the whyche hath he clene abusyd, yn ys mans tyme yt nevyr sett he GOD nor hys pr'nce, nowas concernyng reparac'ons, yowr lordshyps farmery ys downe, wher owr sike me' have the cu'forte, yowr kychyn ys downe, yowr cloyster hadde he downe byfore ys tyme and yf az, doctr yowr officer had nott undr sett hym wt tymbr, yowr ostry and bruarne redy to fawll wt moche more, yt a xx marke wylnott repare yowr lordschyps monastery, beyng nothyng chargyd wt the coste. And as for almes, yowr coventt gyevvyth owt of ther porc'on vi tymes as moche os evyr dyd owr untrue mastyrs, and as towching hospitalyte, he kepte. gret upon owr chancelar and byschopes officers, upon sargiants, and aytrnes of Westminster hall, upon doctrs and pr'ctors of the archys wt grett fees and rewards unto mony of all the sorts, for he hath be the moste pte of all hys tyme yn law wt gentylme', wt hys coventt, and tenants, ye moste pte yn sory tytyle, and for all ye affea' on yt he hath unto hys kynred and knaves, unto ye whych he gyevyth ye almes yt yowr monastery ys bound to gyve y' owr pnces name unto xiiii pore people, and ev'ry oon of them to have yerly xvi boschell of corne, the abusion thereof wole greve eny cherytable ma', how hys brothyr and systr wt kynred and knaves hath the pt have ye grettyst farmes and p'setts as longeth unto yowr monastery so yt few or noon of welbstowyd, yn yowr cathedrall chuseth as iij goodly mytyrs wt ther staves, thes wold nott satsfye hys hye mynd, butt he hath sold plate to the su'me lxxx. and hath made by new mytr and staffe, and yett when the tyme c'm to paye owr dewty unto owr prnce then he lyeth the charge on hys officers, and pore coventt owte of ther porc'on of iij yerly, so yt he wole paye lytyll hy'selfe, by sey yt ye prors porc'on ys lytyll y nows to kepe hys honor, Item he hath of knaves iiij gentylme', x yemen, x gr'mmes, unto the whyche ye coventt officers payeth moche

of ther wags, be syde the fore sayd m'bers there be x geme' that lungyth unto yowr coventt yt goth yn hys lyv'ey, he beying nott charged wt oon grote on them, all ys n'mber, xxxiiii wolenott satsfye hys hye mynd, butt he hath gentylme' waytars wt bothe geme and gr'mes, and also hath yncressyd ther wags and mynyschyd yowr pore coventts por'con, and ye pore k'nes as yowr pore conventt hath on the fys the daye y wole to GOD yowr lordschype dyd know yrof. It'm he and hys p'decessor hath takyn fro yowr pore tenants cc or ccc akyrs of lands, and yett make su' of them paye as moche or more rent as they dyd byfore, and all to ynlarge hys p'ks wt owte owr prnce lycence. The last gryffe of ye grett distenc'on yt was by twyxt owr untrue mastr and conventt, the whyche was yendyd wt a solemyne othe of owr untrue mastyr and conventt by fore my lord of exectr as deane of ye Arches wt dyv'rs doctors and p'otcors that made a decre to obs'vyd, att yt time recevyd, and never sens kepte, butt daylye fawll y' piury by ye occasion ot owr untrue mastr to the grett grugge of co'eyence of yowr hole coventt. Pte of ye forsayd greves, y have putt up yn all vysitac'ons for the space of ys xvi yeres, and the yends thereof evyr hathe be wt owte reformac'on, the vysitor rewardyd and sone aftr pore Musards to prson for tellyng trothe, and su' other yt hath seyd yr conceyence subduyd and all bygifts, and now ther by to ys handle so wrechydly wt sorow yr prson to ye destrucc'on of my body ys cold wyntr by yowr lordschypes under vysitors att ye complaynte of my fawlse conspyritors yt daylye ymagynyth agaynste me, only for my truthe as y am bound to bere to owr prnce that y maye wayle and repente the begyny'g therof, savyng yt hytt ys as GOD be thankyd yn yowr honorable lordschyps mete awucte to reforme when hytt schall plese yow, and therfore what su'evyr outher wt schall y be contente, besekynge yowr honorable lordschyp to have co'passion on me, and to be so 'm'cyfull as for to remove me fro the tyrany of my untrue mastrs unto Westminstr, wher y wold gladly yend my lyfe gretlye y' ye k'nes of ALMY'TY GOD, whoe pr'sve yowr honorable lordschyp y' prspery, helth, wt honor, unto the whyche yow'schall have my dayly prayer

whyle yt y live. By yowr lordschyps owne pore wreche yn prson yn yowr monastery att Worcettr, I Musard, Monck, vii decemb."

I have closely inspected this original document in the hope of detecting a date, but though the month is given, the year is not. If these complaints refer to Prior Moore it must be confessed that they deeply affect his character; and that he is the person referred to (and not Holbeche his successor) seems assured from the allegation as to the prior's undue affection for his relatives and his expensive mode of living, both of which characteristics, as I have shown, might without injustice be assigned to him. There is moreover the little bill for the mitre which he had caused to be made; added to which the prior's own journal contains some reference to this complaining monk, J. Musard, in the year 1531:—

"Rewarded to Rog. Bury, Lewes ye bedull, John Tylar, and Rd. ye cellarer. horsekep for ye fatching and convayinge Dan John Musard home from Ov'bury aft'r he robbed his master of c'ten plate and other things, vis. viij*d.*"

This shows Musard to have been a prisoner, but whether he was the subject of persecution or of just punishment it is now too late to decide. It however soon became obvious to the prior, by the king's demonstration against Rome, his setting up of Cranmer in the place of Wolsey, and constituting Cromwell visitor-general of religious houses, that it

would be far more prudent on his part to retire from office when retirement was safe and easy than to await the course of events and brave inquiry, with its consequences. In the year 1535, therefore, when the downfal of the smaller abbeys had occasioned the greater monasteries to take the alarm, Prior Moore wisely resolved on spending the remainder of his days in rural retirement. It was well known, too, that in order to disarm opposition to his measures, the king, and his visitor or vicar-general, had resolved on leniency and consideration towards those "heads of houses" who offered no obstruction to the royal will, but bent to the coming storm. I do not assert that our prior had made his peace with the visitor in a surreptitious manner, though his journal certainly reveals the payment of certain trifles to "Master Cromwell," because such payments may be accounted for in a legitimate way, probably under the head of procuration or visitation fees; yet the terms he managed to obtain for himself were so exceedingly favourable that we can readily imagine him to have felt far more happy in the concluding scenes of his life than in the gayest times of his dominancy over the Worcester Benedictines. Let us now see what was his retiring pension.

"The said prior and convent grant by these presents that the said William More, late prior of the said monastery, shall not only for him and his servants during his natural life have

an honest lodging or chamber within the said monastery of Worcester specially deputed to occupy the same at his will and pleasure during all the said term, but also shall have wood and fuel sufficient for him and them during the natural life of the said Wm. More at the costs and charges of the prior and convent, both at Crowle and the monastery, also two ale cups of silver, two goblets of silver, a salt of silver, twelve silver spoons, two table cloths, two towels of plain cloth, one table cloth, one towel of diaper, twelve good napkins, four paire of sheets, two pillows, berys and chalys, and all other ornaments and necessarie things to saye masse withall, with the two bedds with th' apurtenances remaining in the stone chamber within the said monastrye, and all other stuffe which hath bin used to remayn being in the said stone chamber, in the month of July or August in the yere of our LORD 1535, to be occupied, used, and exercised by the said Wm. More during his naturall life, or such person or persons as shall please the said R. Jervyce, etc., to assign and appoint during the naturall life of Wm. More. The said Wm. More to have such one of the monks of the monasterie from time to time as he shal plese to apoynt to wait upon him and to say masse, and other servants, which said chaplain shal have meat, drink, wages, and other necessaries, at the costs and charges of the prior and convent, as the other monks of the said house use to have. And as Wm. More at the time of his resignation was indebted £100 the prior and convent agree to pay it to his creditors and repair the house at Crowle and the lodging at the monasterie, and pay to the king during Wm. More's life all payments whatsoever, discharging Wm. More from liability; also sufficient fynding for two geldings or horses for the said Wm. More. Signed in chapter-house 8th May, 28th of Henry VIII."

In one of the monastic books it is stated that Prior Moore had assigned to him the manors of Crowle and Grimley, which he enjoyed to the year 1558, and that the king's commissioners (of

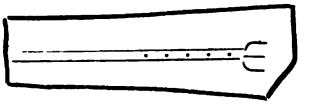
whom it may be supposed the above-named R. Jervyce was one) held Crowle House for the life of Wm. Moore, paying to the convent only one red rose yearly, and that the convent engaged to pay to the commissioners £50 a-year during the life of Wm. Moore. This sum appears to have been consigned to them for the ex-prior's maintenance, and other historians have said that an immediate gift of a thousand marks was likewise paid to him.

From the loopholes of his retreat at Crowle the good prior no doubt serenely viewed the progress of the distant storm—not immoderately careful whether there was a Romish or an English pope, nor so deeply affected by the rudeness of the shock to the vessel in which all his life he had sailed as to occasion to himself a premature dissolution; for although history is silent as to his after life, and there is no certain date of his death, we have evidence of his surviving the change for the long period of nearly a quarter of a century, and living at Crowle in 1558, when the work of the reformation had been mainly completed and the destruction of the religious orders was irrevocable. Thus, at the good old age of nearly four score years and ten, he left the changing scenes of life, to render an account of his stewardship to HIM who alone can judge aright and render justice to

every man—to whom alone "all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid." *Requiescat in pace!*

In the Dineley MSS., now in the possession of Sir Thomas Winnington, is an allusion to Crowle church, in which he says—

"Near this is seen an ancient tombstone, after this manner, over one by the name of More, the last prior* of Worcester Colledge at ye dissolution of ye abbeys and monasterys.



"In ye mannour house, lately with some lands purchased by John Jones, Esq., one of his Majesties Physitians, are seen painted in a window of ye hall ye arms of ye aforementioned last prior, thus, by the name of More."

The painted glass and the house which contained it have now disappeared (as before stated), except a portion of one of the wings of the house, now converted into a cider-house; but in the south transept of the church a few years ago I discovered what I presumed to be the stone coffin lid so artistically drawn by Mr. Dineley. There was no inscription on its upper surface nor any trace of the incised cross; it is probable however that the stone was turned upside down to

* Dineley's mistake, as Moore was succeeded by Holbeche in a nominal dignity, which speedily ceased for ever.

preserve it when the destruction of crosses and images was the fashion, and that when the next restoration of the seats and flooring renders the removal of the stone desirable it will be found in that inverted position to be, if not the memorial which years before his death he caused to be placed in front of JESUS altar in Worcester cathedral, and which was so elaborately carved as to cost the then large sum of £10, to be at least a stone answering to the rough drawing of Mr. Dineley, and so the resting place of the prior be satisfactorily identified.

Chapter III.

THE DISSOLUTION.

"A famisht lion came that waye,
Hungry, panting for his pray,
In his grasping pawes he hente him,
And in pieces all to rente him.
Yet his cabin doth remaine,
Beaten with the winds and raine,
Spoiled of all the passers-bye,
Whose huge form doth terrifie,
All that wondrous monument,
All the world's astonishment."

HENRY HOLBECHE, *alias* Randes, who had presided as prior over the Black Monks of Cambridge, was the last elected prior of Worcester, to which dignity he was raised by the king's licence on the retirement of William Moore in 1535. The officers and monks present at his election were—"John Laugherne, sub-prior, Roger Neckham, professor of theology, Wm. Hodington, elemos., Thos.

Sudbury, cell'us, Humphrey Grafton, Roger Stanford, sac. theol. prof. bacch., Rd. Calaman, Wm. Fordam, John Berowe, Wm. Wyche, John Molton, cantor, Thos. Sturbrugge, Humph. Webley, sac. theo. bac. sacristan, Wm. Hambury, Thos. Blockley, Wm. Borsley, Ed. Ledbury, Roger Bewdley, W. Bennett, Thos. Grymley, John Crowle, Roger. Batenhall, Rd. Hallowe, Rd. Schipston, Wm. Oberley, Thos. Bradwas, John Newenham, Henry Hymulton, John Harewyke, presbit'r, Thos. Oswald, Robt. Gregory, John More, John Cropthorne." These monks' names, it will be observed, were nearly all taken from those of the towns or parishes to which they apparently belonged. The signatures denote a falling off in the number of monks from the full complement of fifty, even after allowing for a few absentees as also for sick inmates in the infirmary. In the account of this election Henry VIII. is specially designated as "the head of the church," and this brings me to consider the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the reformation as far as it relates to the monastery of Worcester. Allusion has already been made to the dissemination of Wickliffe's doctrines in this diocese, the persecution of the Lollards, and the special visit of the archbishop to Worcester in 1384, when an inquisition was held to inquire into the growth of heresy. No doubt the pigeon-holes in the bishop

of Worcester's record room contain many a dusty bundle of evidence given on the local trials of schismatics before the bishop, prior, and officers of the monastery. To indulge my readers with any dissertation on this extensive subject would however be to force upon them a couple of volumes instead of one, and as the matter is only collaterally connected with the history of the monastery I must content myself with mentioning only one or two instances. In the year 1409, according to Fox's "Martyrs," the "carnarie chapel" (the charnel-house, then near the north porch of the cathedral) was the scene of one of these trials for heresy, John Badley, a tailor, of Worcester, being there arraigned before Bishop Peverell, in the presence of the public notary, Walter London, and other witnesses, on a charge of denying transubstantiation. The witnesses were John Malvern, prior, Hanle, sub-prior, John Dudle, monk, Thos. Penings, of the order of the Carmelites, Thos. Feckenham, a preaching friar, Wm. Pomfret, a Minorite, with knights, squires, and clergy. The bishop pronounced sentence against the accused, which was confirmed by the archbishop, and the result was that the poor tailor was burnt at Smithfield. In the eighth year of Pope Julius II. (July 11, 1511) in the cathedral of Worcester, another cause was heard, "before Master Robert Haldesworth, assisted

by Henry Lewes, M.A., Dom. Robert Alchirche, sacrist, Dom. Will. Smyth, decano decanatus Wigorn, Master Lodowick Glyn, Master Ric. Alex'r, et Nich. Lyuff, procurators of the said Consistory Court, and Hugh Crateford, not. pub." Wm. Smyth, *alias* Peynter, of Ombersley, was the delinquent, and it was affirmed of him that in the house of Thos. Hull, of Ombersley, in the presence of Richard Lechmere, rector of Hindlip, John Harrison, of the order of Friars Preachers, of Worcester, and Wm. Laicus, he declared that Paul was not an apostle, and that neither chancellor, commissary, nor the said friar then present, should make him believe this. Fearing the sentence of excommunication however he thought it better to change his expressed opinions with respect to the apostle, and submitted to make the following form of abjuration:—

"I, William Smyth, of the parish of Ombersley, in the diocess of Worcester, swer by the holy evangels of GOD conteyned in this booke that from this hour hereafter I shal nowth holde, prech, tech, maynteyn, ne defende, none articull error, ne heresy, ne none opinyon contrary to the determynation of holy church. I shal yeve ne helpe, concell, nor sau, knowyng, ne prevey, but all manner of error and heresy, and sick (such) opinions which be contrary to the holy church I forswer, and fro them goo and departe yn word and dede, soo GOD me helpe and holy dome."

Smith's name does not appear on the list of incumbents of Ombersley, though it would seem that

he was a beneficed clergyman. Thus the church was waging a sanguinary warfare with ever-growing "heresy," while her own errors and the abuses of religious houses were crying aloud for reformation. The proof of the immoralities of monks and nuns does not rest upon the questionable evidence of interested or partisan witnesses, but is abundantly shown in episcopal injunctions to the sinners of both sexes, as in the case of Malvern monastery and the White Ladies of Worcester. The friars, too, who had seemingly been called into existence to perform the work which the regular clergy had grossly neglected, and to check and expose the vices of the monks, had themselves become more licentious and reprehensible than those whom it was their mission to reform; and while bishops and mitred abbots lorded it with a high hand in the parliament and as petty kings in the limits of their own territories, being at the same time slaves to luxury and worldliness, the various lower orders of the hierarchy caught the base infection, and by their irreligious lives and the intense jealousy that pervaded them severally towards each other—of which fact vouchers still remain in the carved *subsellæ* of our cathedral stalls—contributed materially to the downfal of that fabric which had stood the storms of so many ages. Monasticism had nearly accomplished its work, and was no more necessary

for the well-being of society; hence the eyes of its defenders were blinded and but little desire was manifested to cleanse the Augæan stable. In the diocese of Worcester, too, the unsatisfactory relationship between church and people was rendered still more repulsive by the papal appointment of foreign bishops successively to rule over the see. These men—the Medicis, the Gigles, and the Ghinuccis, were creatures of the pope, and were seldom resident among their flock, in whom the interest they took was merely a pecuniary one. The monastery, having completely lost its ancient right of nominating bishops, could not be expected to look with complacency or affection upon the arbitrary appointments of his holiness; strife and contention were thus occasioned in one direction, while in another the monks were pestered with their ancient rivals, the black and grey friars—the very Arabs of Christendom—whose hand was raised not only against the order of St. Benedict but on the parochial clergy, to whom they proved the most troublesome and meddling—the most pretentious and impudent foes. It was evident that a house so divided could not stand;—rottenness within and a vigorous enemy without the citadel, while the garrison were in mortal conflict with each other. The quarrel between Henry and the pope was nothing more than the lighted match applied

to combustibles which had long been in course of preparation. The frightful extravagance of indulgences called up a Luther, who, from an honest indignation at this shameless prostitution of papal power, was afterwards led to scrutinize the pretensions of the power itself, until in 1520 he published his "tract against the popedom." In the second ledger of Worcester priory is a copy of Leo's damnatory bull, excommunicating Luther, denouncing his "pestiferous errors and heresies," warning the clergy and laity, and especially all bibliopoles, stationers, and vendors of books, and all persons ecclesiastical and civil, not to read or disseminate these "libels" of Martin Luther, either in Latin or any other language; condemning them to be burned, and delivering the writer over to Satan; the secular powers were also called upon to apprehend the heretic. This bull was addressed by the archbishop to the prior of Worcester *sede vacante* (during the vacancy of the bishopric). Sylvester Gigles, bishop of Worcester, was living at Rome at the time of the publication of the bull, and died there in the following year, but the bull did not reach Worcester monastery till May 1521, when the bishop was dead. In July of that year the prior and convent returned a submissive answer, certifying that they did not approve of nor had promoted Luther's doctrines. The great reformer burns the bull without the

walls of Wittenberg, and the populace of Worcester manifest their sympathy with the cause of reformation by defacing the high cross before the guild-hall—an act which, however much we may now deplore, as unnecessarily destructive, seems to have been the only mode of popular demonstration then thought of as against papal tyranny and the errors of Rome. Society was deeply moved and a spirit of enquiry was abroad. The press had accomplished much, and Tindall's translation of the New Testament was in the hands of many, for as fast as the bishop of London bought up the copies and burnt them at Paul's Cross, so did the Antwerp printers, by means of the funds thus obtained, reprint in corrected form and supply the sacred treasure to those who smuggled it into this country. An urgent desire everywhere prevailed to read and hear the Holy Scriptures, and a growing discontent with the monstrous legends imposed on the people as Gospel truth. The great frequency of holidays, too, had become an intolerable nuisance; the act for diminishing their number sets forth that they were "the ocasion of moche slouthe and ydelnes, the verie noryssher of thyffs, vacabunds, and of dyverse other unthryftynes and incovenyences, as of decaye of good misterys and artes utile and necessarie fro the comon wealths and losse of mennes fode manie tymes being clene dis-

troyde through ye supersticious observaunce of ye seyd holydays in not takinge the oportunitie of good and serene weather in tyme of hervest, but also pernicious to the soules of menn which being intysed by ye lycentyous vacacion of libertie of these holydays do uppon ye same comynlye use and practyse more excess, ryeat, and sup'fluytie then uppon anie other deys." This act suppressed all such holidays between the 1st of July and 29th of September, with reservation of certain great feasts; abolished the absurd custom of boys imitating bishops in churches, and other matters calculated to create derision and contempt for sacred things. Those who would be acquainted with the fooleries committed in the irreverent travestie of boy bishops should consult Brand.

There is a MS. in the Bodleian, being an order from the bishop of Worcester, dated April, 1450, to the almoner of Worcester cathedral, for the suppression of a festivity of great merriment, called Hock-tide, and which it is believed was originally instituted to commemorate a great massacre of the Danes, or some other advantage obtained over them by the Saxons. Thus it will be seen that the movement against the excessive holiday nuisance commenced nearly a century before the reformation.

The people were now becoming daily more and more ripe for spiritual emancipation from penance

and pater noster, and had they not been made ready for the change through the providence of GOD, neither Luther nor any other leader, though even a crowned head, would have been equal to the task of effecting a reformation. Besides this, many of the religious establishments had fallen deeply into debt, their estates were neglected, and the doles at monastic gates greatly diminished. Ill fame and the drying up of the springs of charity and hospitality engendered contempt, and it was obvious in the very nature of things that the sick man was nigh unto death. On the 4th of March, 1524, a commission from Westminster was sent to Worcester priory announcing the proposed visitation of the lord legate, Thomas, cardinal and archbishop; indicating that the inquiry would be a very searching one over all manner of persons, and for the castigation, correction, punishment, and driving out of all "criminosi," the censure of all rebellious and contradictory persons, and the upholding of laudable customs. Rules had been relaxed, and a bad example set to the laity, offensive to Divine majesty and to the opprobrium of religion. The intention was to visit both head and members of the said monastery, all of whom were cited to appear in the chapter-house or the choir of the cathedral at noon on the 8th of April then ensuing, "before our dear son, master John Alen, doctor of

laws and canon of Lincoln;" and the prior was warned not to permit, *pendente nostra visitatione*, of any alienation, open or occult. What these alienations were does not appear, and it is only a conjecture that the monastery might be expected to dispose of some of its property in anticipation of the coming day of evil. The result of the visitation, so far as heresy or laxity of discipline was concerned, has not been committed to paper or parchment; but the main practical conclusion of the enquiry seems to have been the levying of a subsidy of four per cent. on the monastic income, as shown by the following entry in the second ledger:—

"Att Worcester monastery of our Ladye the 17th daye of Aprill this bill of dette made at the place on the day and month of the yere above written, being ye sixteene yere of our soveraigne lord Henry eight, wytnesseth to owe and become dettors unto ye most reverend father in GOD Thomas lord cardinal of Yorke, chancellor of Englande, and legate de latere, of and in ye sum of fortie pound of good and lawfull Englishe monie due unto his grace by reason legatine by maister doctor Aleyn, his seyd grace's general comissarie, then and there personally exercysed after ye rate of one thousand pounde, being the whole yerely revenews of our aforesaid monasterie by the comon estimation and our accompts, which foreseyd fortie pounde we his seyd grace's humble orators and subjects promise to paye in London unto the seyd doctor or to the surrogate commissary in that behalfe, to the use of the seyd most reverend ffather at three terms heere to come by such portions as here bene following, that is to saye, at Michaelmas xiij*li.* vi*s.* viij*d.*, at Michaelmas

after that next ensuing xiij*li.* vi*s.* viij*d*, and at Michaelmas the next after that ensuing xiij*li.* vi*s.* viij*d*. In playne truth and full proof of all and singular the premises we have not onlie caused this letter obligatory to be written by our common assent by and freelie for our acts and deeds, in presence as well of master Wm. Clayton, rejest'r of this here to fore vicitacon as Wm. Brewster p'ste with other moe."

The records in 1529 embrace two items which must not be omitted: first, the presentation of the vicarage of Wolverley by the prior and convent to master Edmund Bonner, leg. doc., afterwards bishop of London—a Worcestershire man who disgraced the place of his nativity by a life of cross purposes and bloodshed, who zealously promoted the reformation under Henry and persecuted it to the death under Mary. He is said also to have had the living of Ripple, in this county, but the lists which Nash supplies omit his name in both parishes. And secondly, a monk of Worcester, Thomas Fordam, who had enunciated "pestiferous and damnable doctrines," and had escaped from the monastery, was denounced by Prior Moore and ordered to be arrested wherever found, that he might be duly punished. The petition of John Musard, a monk in the prison of Worcester monastery, complaining to the lord visitor of many and great irregularities, has already been given in the life of Prior Moore (a few pages back). What became of Musard, or how his petition was treated, is not

stated on the records, but the occurrence of these cases proves that not only the "pestiferous doctrines" of the reformation had taken root in the monastery, and were rapidly bearing fruit, but that at the very moment when the institution required the utmost help against the enemy without it was being weakened and torn to pieces by disaffection within. And now came the crisis between king and pope. The strength of the pontiff lay in the monastic orders, the friars, and especially the mendicants. The king must put them down or they would put down the king. Visitations of religious houses took place, rigid injunctions were made by the archbishop, and the oath of allegiance to the king above all foreign potentates was administered. Worcester monastery was again visited on the 17th of August, 1534, when in full conclave Prior Moore and his generally disconsolate "family" of monks took the following oath:—

"Ye shal swere to bear faith, trothe, and obedyence to ye kynges majestie and to hys heyres of his bodie of his most dere and entirely beloved lawfull wyfe quene Anne begotten and to be goten, and further to the heyres of our seyd sovrayne lord according to the limitation in the statute made for suretie of his succession in ye crowne of his realme mencioned and conteyned, and not to anie other withyn this realme nor foren auctorite or potentate. And in case anie other be made or hath bin made by you to anie other person or persons, that then you to repute the same as vayne and adnychilate and that to your connynge wyt and utt'most of

your power without gyle, fraude, or other undue means, you shal observe, kep, mainteyn, and defend the said act of succession, and all the hoole effects and contents thereof, and all other acts and statutes made in confirmation or for due execution of the same or of anie thyng therein conteyned. And this ye shal doe ageynst all maner of persons of whate state, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be, and in no wise doe or attempt or to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directlie or indirectlie, anie thyng or thynges p'vily or apertly, to the lett, hindraunce, or derogacions thereof, or of anie part of ye same, by anie maner of meanes or of anie maner of pretense, soo helpe you GOD, all seyntes, and the hoolie evangelists."

In close proximity to this oath appears in the monastic ledger, in Latin, "a certayn order to be observed towards our lord King Henry eight, and in what estimacion wee are to holde ye bishop of Rome." This document is dated the 28th of Henry VIII. (1537), and yet appears to be a result of the visitation of 1534. The date is evidently an error, Queen Anne being mentioned in the document, whereas the poor queen had been sacrificed by her brutal husband long before 1537. All men to whom the writing might come were informed that the prior and convent, forming the chapter of the diocese, with one mouth and voice, under their seal and in their chapter-house, pledged themselves and successors to perpetual and faithful allegiance to the king, his queen Anne, and their heirs, acknowledging the said Henry to be head of the church; that the bishop of Rome, who had assumed

the title of pope, had no other jurisdiction in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop; that on no occasion, public or private, would they acknowledge his right to the title of universal bishop or address him in any other way than as bishop of Rome, or pay obedience to his laws when opposed to those of Scripture or of the realm of England; nor would they sanction the perversion of Holy Scripture or its interpretation in any other sense than the orthodox construction of the Catholic fathers, &c.; that they would commend the king and queen to the prayers of all the faithful; and all this they promised truly to perform. No names are affixed to this document. Then follow "Injunctions made by the most reverend father Thomas (Cranmer), archbishop of Canturburie," appointing Scripture to be read one hour every day before noon, in plain and intelligible English and the literal sense declared; stricter regulations were to be made as to the convent seal and register, which it appeared had been mismanaged, and no inventory kept of goods and moveables, thus occasioning the abstraction and stealing of many things from the monastery. The archbishop therefore ordered an inventory to be made; he also complained that the return of income and emoluments had not been properly done, and that most of the inmates of the monastery were entirely ignorant of any such return,

commanding therefore that an account of such emoluments and the administration of them should be made once a year, and so as to be easily understood; that a grammatical man, "honest and erudite," should be appointed to instruct the young monks; that wholesome food should be provided for all in the house, and that the prior was not to be austere to his brethren or the servants; that two honest men should minister to the sick monks; that no goods be alienated without the consent of the major part of the monastery; that every year at the audits the sacrist was to account to the prior for all moneys received; the monks were requested to be merciful and kind to their juniors; refectorarius was to provide linen and other necessaries for the dining hall at accustomed times; no monk was to commiserate "Dompno Thome Blockley ab in racione p' enm. fact. in ejus vituperium scandalum et fame denigracionem;"* certain repairs were to be made in the roof and gallery of the dormitory before the feast of SS. Philip and Jacob; and Thomas Sudburie, the cellarer, was to have quiet possession of a stall in the choir. All this was to be observed and done on pain of suspension. Many of these regulations being a direct censure on the prior (Moore) and his management, there can be no wonder at his prompt decision to retire into

* This is copied literally.

private life, and the comfortable retreat he secured for himself at Crowle manor-house has already been noticed. In 1535, the year in which Moore retired, a general visitation of monasteries was ordered, "to enquire into the titles of their estates, the general conduct of friars and nuns, and in what manner the rules of the respective orders were observed." It must be admitted the report of this visitation was not likely to be favourable, Thomas Cromwell, who had an aversion to monks and friars, being placed at the head of the inquisition with the title of visitor-general. The result was that in the following year all the lesser monasteries, the revenues of which were below £200, were suppressed by act of parliament, and their possessions given to the king, thus bringing £34,000 a year to the crown and £100,000 worth of plate, goods, and ornaments of the churches, which with their cloisters were ordered to be pulled down and their materials sold. A new court was erected, called the Court of the Augmentation of the King's Revenue, which was to take cognizance of all matters concerning this property. This court appointed many of the ejected monks to vacant benefices in order to ease the exchequer of their pensions.

The preamble of the act of Henry VIII. (omitted in the printed act) mentions the "manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living in little

abbeys and priories and other religious houses where the congregation is under twelve persons, and the many continual visitations for two hundred years and more for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living; yet nevertheless their vicious living shamelessly increaseth, so that a great multitude of the religious persons rather choose to come abroad in apostacy than conform themselves to the observation of good religion; so that without such small houses be suppressed and the religious therein committed to great and solemn monasteries, wherein religion is well kept and observed, there will be no reformation: resolved therefore that such small houses be suppressed, and their possessions, now spoiled and wasted for the maintenance of sin, shall be converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons be compelled to reform their lives."

To ease their contemplated fall the larger monasteries were led to expect a much more protracted existence; their respite however, brief as it proved to be, was rendered available by many of the fraternities converting as much as they could of their goods and possessions into money; so that, as the Rev. I. J. Blunt observes in his history of the reformation, upon the whole the personal property of these greater houses was not found to be near

so rich a booty as that of the less, on which the storm had burst unawares. Moreover, what had been as yet done was enough to irritate but not to disarm the regulars, and a rebellion was secretly fomented, to counteract which the visitors were again put in motion. The monasteries were now called upon to declare their allegiance more unequivocally, and Prior Holbeche and the Worcester convent complied with the pressure in almost abject terms, yet alleging at the same time that they had not been brought to do so "by force or fear or any other sinister machination, but of our own free will and spontaneously." Thereupon they swear "to yield obedience only to our most illustrious king, under CHRIST head of the church of England, and not to any foreign ruler or pontiff (nulli externo imperatori, regi, p'cipi, aut p'lato, nec Romano pontifici), and from this time will not call him (the said pope) by the title of 'our' papa, 'our' supreme pontiff, 'our' universal bishop, or 'our' most holy lord, but only 'Roman bishop' or pontiff, as was the ancient manner; nor admit any bull, brief, or rescript, from him, or appeal to any of his courts, or submit to their jurisdiction, nor permit him to have any privileges or rights in this realm, nor pay to his nuncios, orators, or legates, any procurations, pensions, portions, or any other pecuniary profit, by whatsoever name called." This document was

sealed in the chapter-house, on the 16th of August, 1536, and signed by John Tyson, Oliver Lloyd, Roger Hughes, bachelors of laws, and Rd. Bedle, public notary.

The last Italian bishop of Worcester set up by the pope was put down by the king and parliament, and Hugh Latimer, one of the lights of the reformation, succeeded to the vacant mitre by favour of the queen, Anne Bullen. The result of his first visitation is thus recorded:

"Injunctions given by the bishop of Worcester on his visitation to the prior of St. Mary's house of Worcester and the convent of the same the yere of our Lord one thousand 500 threttie and sevyne. Hugh, by the goodness of GOD bishop of Worcester, wisheth to his brethren the prior and convent aforeseyd grace, mercie, peace, and trew knowledge of GOD'S word from GOD our FATHER and our LORD JESUS CHRIST. Forasmuch as in this my visitacion I evidentlie perceive the ignorance and negligence of dyvers religious persons in this monasterie to be intollerable and not to be suffred, for that thereby doth reign idollatrie and manie kinds of superstition and other enormities, and considering withal that our sovraigne lord the kinge, for sum p'te remedie of the same, hath graunted by his most gracious licence that ye scriptures of GOD may be red in Englishe to all his obedient subjects, I therefore, willing your reformation, in most favorable maner to your least displesure, do hartilie require you all and everie one of you, and alsoe in GOD'S behalfe command the same according as your dutie is to obey me as GOD'S minister and the king's in all my lawful and honest commandments, that you observe and keep inviolably all these injunctions following, under pain of the law:

"First, forasmuch as I perceive that some of you nother have observed the king's injunctions nor yet have them with

you as willing to observe them, therefore you shal from henceforth both have and observe diligentlie and faithfullie as well speciall commandments of preaching as other injunctions given in his grace's visitacion.

"Item, that the prior shal provyde at the monastryes charge a hole bible in English and to be leyde fast chaynede in some open place other in their churche or cloyster.

"Item, that everie religious person have at the least a newe testament in Englishe by the feast of ye Nativitie of our LORD next ensuinge.

"Item, whensoever ther shalbe anie preaching in your monastrie that all maner of synging and other ceremonies be utterly leyed a syed in the preching tyme, and all other service shortend as nede shal be, and all religious persons quietlie to herkine to the preaching.

"Item, that ye have a lecture of Scripture read everie day in Englishe amongst you save holy days.

"Item, that everie religious person be at everie lecture from the beginning to ye endinge except they have a necessarie (leave) allowed them by ye prior.

"Item, that everie religious house have a layman to their stuard for all former businesses.

"Item, that you have a continual schoolmaster, sufficiently learned to teach you grammar.

"Item, that no religious person dyscorrage any maner of laymen or woman or any other from the redyng of anie good booke either in Latin or in Englishe.

"Item, that the prior have at his dinner and supper every daye a chapter read from the beginning of Scripture to ye end, and that in Englishe, whersoever he be in anie of his owne places, and to have edifienge comunicacion of ye same.

"Item, that the convent sit together fower to one messe and to eate together in comon, and to have Scripture read in lyk wise and have comunicacon therof, and after theyr diner or supper their reliqües and fragments to be distributed to pore peple.

"Item, that the prior and convent provide distribution to be ministred in everie parish wher as ye be persons and proprietaries according to ye king's injunctions in that behalfe.

"Item, that all these my injunctions be read everie month once in the chapter-house before all the brethren."

The warmest apologist for monastic life must admit, from such undoubted documentary evidence, that the discipline of religious houses was not what it should have been, and that the fate of the lesser monasteries, as a warning to the greater, had altogether failed. One of the most productive sources of income to the monastery of Worcester—the shrines of Saints Oswald and Wulstan—had long fallen into disrepute and were removed in 1538, the bones of the saints wrapped in lead, and buried at the north side of the high altar. In 1539-40 all the abbots and priors throughout England were called upon to surrender their houses to commissioners sent into each county to receive them. Those who complied without resistance were rewarded with place or pension, and many having been previously put into office with a view to an easy surrender, the number of refractories was comparatively small. The last prior of Worcester became its first dean under the new establishment. The great event which put an end to the monastery of Worcester after an existence of so many centuries is thus set forth:—

"The surrend'r of ye priory of Worc'r. Mem. that the monastrie and priory of Worcester was surrendred and gyff up by the prior and convent of the same howse in to ye

kynges handes Henry the eyght the xvi daye of Jan'y apon Seynt Marcell's daye ye mart'r in the yere of our LORD 1540 and in the 31 yere of the seyd kyng Henry Eyght."

The estimated income of the monastery at the dissolution was £1,386. 12*s.* 10¾*d.*,* or a clear rental of £1,290. 10*s.* 6¾*d.* The furniture and plate belonging to the establishment had probably been reduced by the "alienations" before complained of. An inventory is in existence which has been published by Green, and from which it appears that tumbarius, the shrine-keeper, had in his possession at the dissolution the heads of St. Oswald and St. Wulstan, mounted in silver and gilt, a mitre for St. Oswald's head, certain other relics of the said saints, an arm of St. Edmund the bishop, the brains of St. Thomas of Canterbury, an arm of "Seynt Romane the bysshope," relics of St. Margaret and the eleven thousand virgins, &c. The ornaments belonging to the two patron saints were: St. Oswald's, "a cope of yallowe satten, the pictur off perlis set upon gold; a cheasable of yalowe satten to the same, a nother cheasable of blacke seble w't the holy lambe and cross on the backe, a stole of nylde warke set w't stonys and perlys, a gyrdyll of cheangeble selke platted at the yends, an albe of clothe of gold, the fore parte therof set w't

* The revenue of Evesham abbey was about £1,200 at the dissolution.

perlys and stonys." St. Wulstan's ornaments were, "a cope of yalowe satten, and a cheasable of yalowe satten browddred a bowte the colar w't nylde warke and golde; an albe of stony warke; a nother cope of crymsen satten, and a cheasable of crymsen satten broddred a bowte all the colar w't nylde warke and gold, ij stolis, on of them blewe satten w't perlis yendys and gold, the hother stole changeable satten set at yends w't perlis and golde; a ffanuell of blewe satten, the yends perlis, and the clothe of golde; ij gyrdylls, on of grene selke, the hother gyrdyll knyt after nett wyse; a stole and a ffanuell of Seynt Dunstane, red selke wrought w't golde and nylde warke, the yends clothe of golde; a ffanuell of Seynte Allphage, the yends clothe of golde set w't perlis; a stole of Seynte Aldulfe." The plate and other articles were classified as belonging to each officer, and among a great quantity of things not requiring notice there were "an ymage of o'r Lady the assumption gylt, an ymage of o'r Lady parcell gylt," large numbers of spoons, ornamented with lions' heads, with the apostles, with "wrawles," with "seynts at the yends," with "the ymage of J'hu," with "tonnes at the yends," with "images of Our Lady," a "selver spone for oblation, with iij stones in hym;" crosses of silver and gilt, "the hooly crosse with the futt of clene golde,

the hooly crosse off golde with precious stones, the hooly crosse, the over parte ys clene golde, the remanz ys sylv'r and gylte, Russell's crosse of selver and gylte and amelde;" croystaves of silver and gilt; three mitres, adorned with gold, pearls, and precious stones; six paxes, of silver and gilt, one being the gift of Prior Moore to the LORD'S chapel; holy water tinnels and dashels; a large number of chalices, one of them being also the gift of Prior Moore, some having "precious stones in the boll;" and one "graved in the futt and the crucifix amelled;" a "patten parcell gylt to make oblation;" four pontifical rings of gold; cruets, candlesticks, censers; "Lyttulton's noche of gold and precious stones," and other noches; navetts and monstrans; masers, some with gilt bands and double bands, others with single; "a harnesed nutt with a cover gylt," a black nutt, a standing nutt; "a horne for the whassell w't a cov'r garnyssyde w't selv'r and stonns, the selv'r gylte;" "two hornes harnessed;" "a great stondyng cupp, with a cover gylt and pounced, of Paryce* making; drinking cups for ale, with covers, parcel gilt; a "gylt boll, called Fordam's boll, with a cover, a "gylt boll, called Grene's boll," "xij bolls whyte and playne of one fasshen," "iij white bolls with a cover pounced;" salts, with covers, gilt and plain; gob-

* Made at Paris.

lets, with covers, gilt and chased, parcel gilt and plain, three of them being the gift of Dan Robert Alchurch; "a powdur peese for spyce," various white pieces with and without covers; a spice plate gilt, silver dishes; kitchen stuff and furniture, a "fyer panne to warme yn a bede*;" "a peyr of balis;"† "ij seyllatorys;" a "voldynge table and a table burde with ij trestylls;" surplices and music books belonging to the children and the master of the chapel; a brass lamp hanging in the Lady chapel;" "iiij coffers to put yn the stufe with locks and keys;" feather beds, mattresses, and all other bed-room appointments, painted cloths; only four or five chairs named; candlesticks of tin and "mastelyne;" a "panne peynted of the good LORD;" "a copper boyler for ye brewhouse of cast mettle, weying 9,000 weight, beyng broken for sale;" and an immense quantity of common things not worth naming.

Thus then came to an end the monastery of the blessed Virgin at Worcester—

> "The sacred tapers' lights are gone,
> Grey moss has clad the altar-stone,
> The holy image is o'erthrown,
> The bell has ceased to toll.

* Bed-warming was resorted to as early as the fourteenth century.

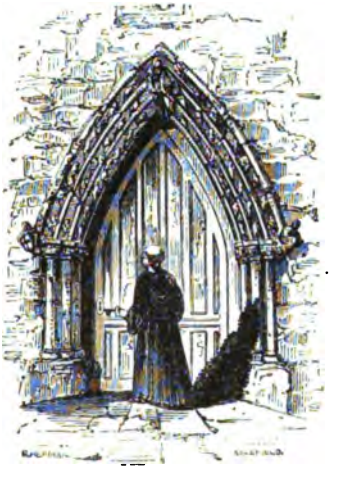
† The hand-bellows is said to have been introduced by a citizen of York in the reign of Edward III.

The long-ribb'd aisles are burst and sunk,
The holy shrines to ruin sunk,
Departed is the pious monk,
GOD'S blessing on his soul."

It has been justly observed by Tanner, in his "Notitia," that the dissolution of religious houses was an act not of the church but of the state, prior to the reformation, by a king and parliament of the Roman Catholic communion in almost all points except the supremacy, and confirmed by others of the same communion. Very few of the Papists wrote against the dissolution of these houses, and several both of their clergy and laity accepted grants of their lands.

Having now pursued the history of the monastery from its foundation to the close, purely as a chronological record, which could not without sacrificing the unities be broken into by the intrusion of other matters affecting the inner life, the constitution, and discipline of the establishment, I propose now to retrace our steps for the purpose of considering the internal and external government of the monastery, with the habits, manners, customs, and every-day course of the fraternity, and whatever may be gathered with reference to the cathedral and monastic buildings, the library, school, organs and choir, manorial property, and other branches of the enquiry, premising that in several

of these departments (the history of the cathedral and monastic buildings for instance) each subject is unavoidably pursued up to the present time, without halting at the reformation; and that after these episodes have thus been treated I shall have to return to the period of the dissolution and resume the general chronological history under the reformed foundation of deans and chapters.



Chapter IV.

INTERNAL GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE.

"A hasty portion of prescribed sleep,
Obedient slumbers—that can wake and weep,
And sing and sigh, and work, and sleep again,
Still rolling a round sphere of still returning pain."

ABINGDON, in his manuscript, has given the following summary of the internal management and discipline of Worcester monastery:—

"This priorie consisted of 50 monks of St. Benedict's order. The chiefest who managed the affaires of the monasterie were ye prior, sub-prior, elemosinarius, cellerarius, sacrista, precentor, infirmarius, and coquinarius. The sacrist was choosen by the bp. as appeareth in the prior's registrie sede vacante, and to him were committed by the bp. the keys and custodie of ye cathedrall church. To those severall officers did belonge manors and lands wh. they did not dispose to thyer own uses (for they were capable of none) but to ye benefit of the church and monks and co'vent. When the monasterie became voyd

of the prior by the death, preferment, or remove of thyer supr., the co'vent did chose 7 of the most sufficient monks whom they presented to the bp. of Wor. yt he out of these might elect one to be thyer prior, whom he had power to place but not to displace. During the vacancie of ye priorie ye bp. might present to ye parsonages and churches of ye monks and dispose of thyer escheates, wards and marriages, in thyer manors, but without prejudice to the priorie. The convent, when ye priorie was vacant, did instantly certifie ye bp. thereof, and if ye bp. were faultie or negligent in ordaineing a prior he was to loose ye commodities wh. by the vacancie might otherways accrew to him. The prior had in the precincts of ye sanctuarie a faire house and all things answerable thereunto and mentained continuall hospitalitie, yet had nothing proper to him-selfe. The officers of ye monasterie disposed of all, giving the prior monney for the expenses of his chamber only as appeareth in the registrie of ye priorie. The monks had thyer diett in ye refectorie, a spatious roome by the south cloister of ye church, where every one sitting by him-selfe had his severall pittance or portion, and he who had care of this was named pitentiarius, yet none cd give away what remained of his pittance, for it was due to ye poore. They began thyer Lent in ye refectorie on Septuagesima Sunday, but he yt kept ye open table for intertainement of all commers was bound to no more than the ordinarie Lent fro' Ash Wenesday to Easter. Thyer dormitorie being a very large roome reaching downe fro' ye west cloister towards Severne, was devided into as many partitions or celles as there were monks, so as every one had his severall logging. They rose at midnight to mattins, wh. they sunge, ending with meditation, and soe reposed till prime. Thyer howers and high masse had thyer sett times. Thyer private masses left more to thyer disposesall according to every on's severall dutie or devotion. Thyer 3d hower, sext, and none with theyer vesperas and complene, exactly distributed into severall hours of ye day; enfin, day and night was soe ordered as they had sleepe and all things els for bodie and soule sufficient and well. Thyer habit being longe and large

was black and course (as I have scene by what hath byn digged out of some of thyer graves) for they were buried in thyer habits. Thyer cowles had hoods ioyned unto them to cover their heads. Thyer tonsure was large wh. with thyer beards was often shaven. They wore wollen next thyer skinne and kept every day after prime thyer capitula culparu' or chapter for correction. Thus were they sequestred fro' the wordle, though thyer learning like a fier raked up, did often times breake out in sparkles or flames, wh. was scene in Florentius Wigorniensis and others yet were they never p'mitted to manifest the same to the benefit of ye Christian commonwealth till Pope Nicholas gave them licence to preach in the cathedrall church and other churches subject unto them, wh. pope did alsoe graunt them leave in regard of the vehemencie of the cold, especially in winter to were capps and almucies at thyer divine office and processions, so as ever due reverence might be had at ye reading of ye gospel, elevation &c. Mislead with curiositie I was a while desirous to know ye names of ye most ancient monks till I perceaved yt in former ages when the Englishe were only knowne by singell or Christian names, they followed yt use, but when they came to surnames for distinction of families, the religious obscured themselfs under strainge surnames and most often assumed the names of the places where they were borne. The monks who, being officers, had manors belonging to thyer offices, held ye courts of thyer severall lordshipps, accompanied with a steward who discharged yt place, and an esquier of the priorie, stiled 'armiger' appointed I thinke, to defend the unarmed religious. These esqs. had yearly six elles of good cloath with furre to ye value of 20*s*. They had horses, and every one a garcon on foote to attende them. Having mentioned these esquiers it is not I suppose impertinent to show thyer intertainement in the priorie being thus. Every on of them had his diett and a roabe furred, livery of hey and provinder for his horse and a chamber, in regard where-of he was sworen if it pleased the prior to performe his diligent and faithfull service in the office of an esquier. In keeping thyer courts they confined them-selfs to a certain number of

men, wh. were never as I cd. yet reade, above 8 persons, with 4 horses, and like wais 2 dayes as time sufficient to dispatch thyer busines, and not too longe to overcharge thyer tenants. They were charitable landlords but discreete for preventing of inconveniences. They had to thyer consell men very expert in the lawe, as also for thyer bodies very learned phisitions. The kings untill ye raigne of Hen. 6. did write to them in French, whom they answered in the same language; the letters wh. passed between the prelates and them were ever in Latin and well penned, soe as I cannot but thinke they had amongst them very good secretaries of ye Latin and French tongues. Divers had in this priorie largitions wh. I may call I thinke largeses and corodies, and these some had in regard of monneys given to the monasterie for a provision of maintenance and diett and logging for them-selfes and, if thyer estate required it, for thyer servants and horses during life. These were such as the king, out of his royal prerogative, did sometimes challenge to give gratis to his followers without any consideration payed, and were of that account as Sr John Beauchamp of Holt, knight, had one of them, wh. he, rising after to greate honor and authoritie, requited with true charitie to ye religious. Other largesses or corrodies were bestowed on such as by thyer sp'uall or temporall services merited the same and were ever distributed with greate discretion. Hitherto I have described the priorie as a house of religion: now must I sett it forth as the chapter of ye bp. of Worcester, without whose confirma'con the bp. cd. neyther give, sell, nor lett anything belonging to ye b'prick, noe not soe much as release a bondman of his servilitie, wh. bps. often did, and ye chapter in thyer manors did as it were contend herein to exceed ye bp. in charitie, and by how much thyer service was the viler and subject to dayly labour, so much was thyer manumission the worthyer. All in thyer covenants of libertie were sworne to remaine faithfull to thyer lords; some who in prime of youth were likely to prosper in vertue and learning were sett free upon condition yt before the age of 30 years, they shd. enter into holy orders, wh. if they neglected, or tooke a contrarie course

of life, and thereby made them-selfs incapable of priesthood, they fell back againe into thyer bondage. A bondman unexpectedly becoming a priest, the bp. in reverence to his sacred orders discharged him of his bondage. How and when bondage oppressed the land I am uncertain. It is unlikely the English by selling thyer children as they did at Rome in the time of S. Gregorie, shd. in practizing the same here at home breede so greate a calamitie. I thinke rather the Danes or the Norman conquerors wrought it, for Stygand, with his resolute Kentishmen, told William Duke of Normandie they wd. rather die then submitt them-selfes to bondage, wh. intimateth yt bondage threatned then this kingdome. But that thraldome I hope is now wholie abolished, and in transcribing these Antiquities I purposely omitted all thyer names, because I wd. not in any writing of mine leave a blemise to any of thyer posterities. Quæstio mota est inter Archiep'um Cantuariensem Bonifaciu' et Priorem Wigor., &c. concerning the jurisdiction in the vacancie of ye sea of Worcester, and determined yt the prior when ye bp. died shall signifie the same to ye archbp. of Canturbury, and the archbp. of Canturbury shall appoint the prior of Wor. in ye time of the vacancie to execute all things appertaining to ye b'prick by the authority of ye archbp of Canterbury An. D. 1268. These are the words, but Englished out of the leiger of donations. According to this ordination they p'ceeded so far as there is a leiger called the registrie of ye priorie in the vacancie of ye sea. The first I read of is after the death of Godfrey bp. of Wor. who deceased 7 kal Feb. An. 1301, when the prior, as comissarie of ye archbp of Canturbury, admitted, instituted and inducted to churches and chantries parsons and vicars, with others of ecclesiasticall order presented to him by patrons and such as had authoritie in this large dioces; he tooke also resignations of rectories, he approved wills of the dead and gave letters of administration; he receaved into the bps. prison clerks convicted before ye king's justices, and by him-selfe or his deputies purged and delivered them; he performed all things belonging to the bp. saving holy

orders and such which, because they required higher authority the prior licensed in severall vacancies bps. of other dioceses given them faculties to confirme children, blesse altars, dedicate churches and celebrate holy orders in this dioces. He visited religious houses in the dioces and in the citties of Worcester, Bristoll, Glocester, Warwick &c., and if they resisted his visitation they were subject to exco'mnica'on &c. and thereupon had thyer fruits sequestred till doeing pennance they obtained absolution. How they proceeded in thyer visitations I finde thus expressed in the abbie of Cirencester: 'Johannes, Prior, &c., John Prior and ye co'vent of Worcester and William abbot of St. Maries of Cirencester of ye order of St. Augustine, with the co'vent being within the dioces of Wor. agree yt ye prior or sub-prior, or other monks in thyer place, if they cannot by them-selfes doe it, may by the authoritie of the metropolitan church of Canturburie in the vacancie of ye b'prick of Wor. only once visit and with ye abbot and co'vent enter the chapter-house and propound the word of GOD and enquire without oath if the masse of the bl. Marie were daily celebrated, and if ye chapter for correction of manners were dayly held; and if they were faultie in any of these the visitor of Worcester shall by word or lettre declare and committ the abbot of Cirencester to be corrected. And the visitor for his fee shall have 4 marks but not receaved with hospitalitie shall the same daye departe: An. D. 1349. John bp. of Wor. confirmeth this, and Simon the archbp. corroborateth the same.' These few out of many have I collected fro' the registrie of Wor. sede vacante. And thus stood this priorie, wh., being founded by K Edgar and St. Oswald, was nourished by kings, fortified by thyer charters, and rested securely under the protection of ye kings of England thyer patrons till the general dissolution of religious houses."

So far Habingdon; but I propose to go into further detail with regard to the officers of the monastery, their duties, and the discipline of the establishment.

The difference between an abbot and a prior was this: the former usually held his charter of liberties and protection under the king, and the prior under the bishop. In cathedral monasteries therefore the bishop was considered head of the house, living close at hand, in intimate relationship with the fraternity, over whom he appointed a prior from a number of candidates presented to him by the monks themselves. Priors therefore existed in monasteries attached to episcopal seats, while abbots of other houses had for the most part an independent authority, which exemption from episcopal supervision however had in many cases been purchased at an enormous price, to avoid the still more odious tyranny and expense imposed on them by the bishops. Abbots appointed priors to act under them in their own houses. Mitred abbots, who held their baronies in capite under the crown, were summoned to parliament; but priors, as heads of monasteries, holding under their respective bishops, had not the privilege. There was only one summons to the prior of Worcester, which was to Richard Dumbleton in the parliament of 1265, and this may be accounted for by the fact that the bishop (Cantelupe), who should then have represented this church and see in the national councils, was under excommunication for having joined the barons in their war against Henry III. In other

respects the duties and privileges of abbots and priors were almost identical. The prior, spending much of his time at his various manor-houses or in the metropolis, devolved upon the sub-prior the chief of his responsibilities in regard of supervising the religious services and discipline of the house. He was called "the lord prior," slept in his chamber with his chaplains, who, with the monks generally, ministered to him, whether at the table, at the lavatory, or elsewhere. Great deference was shown to the abbot or prior: from the sub-prior to the novice, all moved their hoods to him. He attended the cloister in the morning to hear what the monks had to say, and could make a search in any department of the house whenever he chose; heard confessions, but had an option as to taking part in the services; pronounced benedictions; presided at chapter meetings, was preceded by the crosier in processions, and had his hand kissed. Immense ceremony attended him everywhere and there was high distinction and discipline in his presence. On his journeys he rode with a hawk on his fist, on a horse or mule, with gilded bridle and saddle and large retinue, bells were rung in his honour wherever he arrived, and on his return home the monks met him on their knees and gave him a "kiss of charity." He had a profuse wardrobe, and noble and gentle youths served him as pages. In the

time of Richard II. the subcellarius of Worcester monastery, in his usual roll of expenses, mentions the names of John Pate, Nicholas Folyett, Thomas Swyn'ton, and Richard Horewood, as "iiij gen'oses d'm prioris," gentlemen in the prior's suite. Monasteries being the resort of nobles and even of royalty, it was a matter of ambition among the best families of the neighbourhood to place their sons in a position where they might be civilised and refined by intercourse with the great. The practice with regard to abbots and priors dining and sleeping in their own apartments was not uniform: in some instances they dined in the common refectory, and slept in the same room with the monks. When the abbot or prior was at home, all the visitors belonged to him; but when absent, they were entertained by the convent. In associating with people of the first distinction, the abbot or prior shared their pleasures and returned their visits; they held visitations, regulated the reception of nuns and monks in subordinate houses, appointed and deposed their priors, conferred the lesser orders, and consecrated churches and cemeteries. At Worcester, as has been already shown, the prior became virtually bishop when the see was vacant. If an abbot or prior were unpopular or tyrannical, the monks either fled to some other house or made his life miserable by combination against his authority

or complaining to the visitors. The prior's chaplain received from the cellarer or bursar all sums for the prior's use, for the maintenance of himself and the expenses of his household, and it was his duty to see everything done "decently and in order," without strife, to keep all the prior's plate and treasure, pay and discharge all the gentlemen yeomen and other servants of the prior, and he lay next to the prior's chamber. The Worcester priory, together with the great hall for the guests, was situate on the east side of the cloister, with which it communicated by a vaulted passage (early Norman work) still in existence.

The sub-prior—for all the officers had subs, deputies, and servants (and there was even a third prior at Worcester)—supplied the place of his superior and exercised his authority in his absence, so that for the greater part of the year he was the actual ruling authority in Worcester monastery. He had also peculiar duties attached to his office; he was to go every midnight to each monk's chamber door, and call upon him by name, to see if he had stolen out on unlawful business or "anie kynde of vice or nowghtynes." He saw the interior doors locked and kept the keys till the morning, when he delivered them to the porters. The visitation of the infirmary was also his care, and, like the prior, he could punish the servants,

but not add to their number or dismiss them. His apartments communicated with the cloisters and dormitory, that he might have prompt communication with the brethren, the door-way leading to the sub-priory being still in existence at the south-west angle of the cloisters. The sub-prior, or an "explorator" appointed by him, went round by night with a lantern when the monks were reading or in other devotional offices, to see that there was no talking or sleeping. In the life of St. Wulstan we read that he (Wulstan) appointed watchers, who allowed no one to laugh with impunity, and those who offended in that way he deprived of their drink or punished them with strokes of a staff on the hand (ferulæ ictum et plagam manu exciperet). He was most rigid as to the observance of canonical hours, with prayers seven times a day and two or three masses, and was himself present at the monks' collation after supper, applying the word of GOD for their exercise and silent contemplation in their cells.

Sacristan, or sexton: had his lodgings on the north side of the cathedral, close to the east wall of the great north transept, and the little oriel window of his chamber looking into the north aisle of the choir of the cathedral still remains. A staircase leading up to the chamber from the said aisle was also recently discovered. This means of supervision and communication was necessary for

an officer who had such important duties assigned to him: he or his deputy had to provide all things necessary for the keeping up of divine service, to dispense bread and wine, wax tapers, to look after the consecrated vessels and vestments, plate and utensils, prepare the host, bless the banners, keep the church clean and well strewed with rushes, cause the bells to be rung when necessary, look after marriages and burials, regulate the clock, clean the lamps, and provide for repairs within and without the church, for which he took charge of oblations, fees, and sacrament money. I find that in 1371 he received from the vicar of St. John's *2s. 6d.* for the year "in lieu of the offering which the parishioners made when they came with their banners to the cathedral on the feast of Holy Trinity." In 1517 the oblations of visitors placed in the box of the Lady Chapel during the year (in pixide b'te m'e ho. anno), and which would be under the care of this officer, amounted to the large sum of *£15. 7s. 6d.* When priors were ordained and admitted, great ceremonials were arranged by the sacrist: every monk received a gallon of wine, a loaf, and three dishes of fish, while the sacrist got for his fee the costly copes and vestments used on the occasion. Thus I find that this official received a cap and vestments from the abbot of Gloucester when the latter was "blessed"

in Worcester Cathedral in the year 1113. It was the sacrist's duty to sleep in the chamber commanding the interior of the cathedral, so as to keep a vigilant watch over it by night, to lock up all the chapels, with their altars and aumbries or cupboards, and next morning lay out the keys for those monks who were to serve at the altars. The supervision of so many altars and the other duties cast on the sacrist were therefore very onerous, and necessarily entailed an almost perpetual residence, day and night, within the sacred walls. If I understand Hemingus aright, the sacrist did not always reside so near to the scene of his duties, for he states that in 1327 "Johes dictus Freond, citizen of Worcester, granted to the Prior Wolstan de Bransford a house and tenement in the churchyard of the cathedral, between the new tenement of the sacrist on the east and the land of the sacrist on the other side, in a street called Lych-street." I take this to be that the sacrist's house was in Lich-street, and we know that his lodging could not have been always attached to the north aisle of the choir, seeing that in Norman days there was a chapel on the identical spot where afterwards the sacrist's apartments were put up.

The tumbary was an officer who had the care of the tombs and shrines, and accounted for the oblations received thereat. In an earlier part of this

volume it has been shown how munificently some of the kings endowed the shrines of Saints Oswald and Wulstan, and this example was followed by many other persons of rank and worth. In Fuller's Worthies I find that in 1331 Petronilla de Ferrers sent an oblation to the shrine of St. Wulstan, being a gold ring, with a sapphire stone, the keepers of the said shrine then being Ralph Scalleby and Philip de Pyrebroke. By the arrangement of 1224 there were to be two honest clerks or monks in charge of the said shrine, one on behalf of the bishop and the other for the monastery, the proceeds being equally divided between the two parties. How far this interfered with the duties of tumbarius, whether he had the supervision of the two before-named, or was himself one of the two, does not appear. His lodging was at the south-west angle of what is now called the College-green. In other monasteries this officer was called feretarius. Among the Prattenton MSS. is a list of jewels in the possession of the Worcester tumbarius in the year 1331, consisting of precious stones, rings, crucifixes, &c., hanging on the shrine of St. Wulstan, besides the following relics then in his charge—

"Pars magna de s'ta cruce, caput beati Oswaldi archiep'i, caput beati Wolstani, de capite beati Ricardi in quadam cruce, anuli beati Wulstani cum cathenâ argenteâ, ciphus beati Oswaldi archiep'i, os de spina dorsi beati Wulstani, de carnes beati W'lstani magna pars et de vestimentis ejusdem, de casula

beati Thome martyris et de pulvere carnis ejusdem, de panno incerato in quo volvebatur corpus Edmundi arch'pi, de vestimentis ejusdem, de tumba sanc. Marie, os de sancto honorato, cilicium integrum beati Ric'i Epis'i, item pecten beati Wolstani de Ebore rubeo."

Nothing is said in this document of the pastoral staff of St. Wulstan, which had occasioned such ill feeling between the monastery and the hospital of St. Wulstan. From the inventory taken at the dissolution it will be seen that, besides the above, tumbarius had in his possession many other choice and greatly honoured relics.

Cellarer: this officer had charge of everything relating to the food of the monks, dispensed the daily allowance, was to see "what beffes and muttons was spent in a weeke and all spyces and other necessaryes," as well for the prior's table and the visitors as for the convent. At Worcester he seems to have acted as the general treasurer or bursar of the monastery, received rents and accounted for them, and paid servants' wages and for all work done in the monastery or chargeable thereto. He was lodged at the west side of the kitchen. Professor Willis says: "The nature of this lodging of the cellarer is best explained in the 'Durham Rites,' which show that every officer entrusted with the receipts and expenditure of his department had a room (scaccarium or checker) in which he transacted his business, but these officers slept in the dormitory

or infirmary, and had their meat served to them from the kitchen to their checker, not dining in the refectory. It was the cellarer's office to see all things orderly served and in due time; accordingly his checker joined the west end of the great kitchen, but the chamber where he did lie was in the dorter." The cellarer of Durham and the cellarer of Worcester were lodged in the same relative position to the kitchen.

The infirmarer had the care of the infirmary, and of the sick monks when removed thither from the dormitory, also the care and management of the funerals. He gave permission for bleeding, and in case of sudden accident received confession.

> ——— "He knew
> The virtues of all herbs of mount or vale,
> Or greenwood shade or quiet brooklet's bed."

His apartment was near the west end of the cathedral, where also was the infirmary.

Hospitaller or hostilarius, or by corruption hostler: he was to see the guest chamber cleanly kept, "and that all the table cloths, table napkings, and all the naprie within the chambers as shetes and pillowes, to be swete and clene." He also introduced all visitors, showed them over the offices, provided wine for them and provender for their horses; he slept in the infirmary. "His checker (at Durham) was as yea goe into ye grete

hall." This was exactly his position at Worcester with respect to the Guesten-hall, but at Durham the guest-hall and chambers occupied the whole west side of the College-square, instead of the north, as at Worcester.

The pittancer had charge of the monks' pittances or allowances from the kitchen, and probably his duties were similar to those of an officer called refectioner in some convents, who took care of the pots, noggins, cups, basons, candlesticks, &c., provided rushes and straw for the refectory, weighed cheese and distributed it, together with bread, received wine from the cellar, measured it if necessary, and poured it into cups. His checker or office was at the south-west of the refectory, near to that of the cook (clericus coquinæ).

This last-named was a very highly important officer, sometimes called kitchener; he provided the meals, was allowed a horse, and attended markets.

Magister capellæ: the office of master of the chapel has not been clearly identified. Professor Willis thinks he must have been master of the charnel-house chapel, but it was not so, as there is a list of officers extant of the time of Prior Moore, in which John Molton is described as master of the chapel and Richard Calaman of the carnarie. Nor was he the precentor, for Wm. Lynfyll then held that office. I rather think he must have

been the master of the novices; and if so he had charge of the youths when they first entered the monastery for a novitiate of seven years. He was to be a discreet man, to teach them humility and discipline, ceremonies, &c., was to shave the boys and wash their heads, to teach grammar, logic, and philosophy, and sometimes music and singing, though there were itinerant monks who in some instances taught those accomplishments. He was to see that the novices had proper clothing and all other necessaries; and as there are frequent entries in the Worcester monastic rolls of the master of the chapel charging for boys' hose, shoes, &c., and for lamps in the chapel (supposed to be the Lady Chapel, where the organist also instructed some of the boys in music) I am confirmed in the supposition that "magister capellæ" was really the master of the novices. Moreover, in an inventory of plate and furniture made at the dissolution, surplices and books for the children are included in the department of magister capellæ. In one of the fourteenth century rolls Richard Schepard is described as the chaplain celebrant in St. Mary's chapel, for which he received 100*s.* yearly. The novices never received wages, nor handled money, and if any of them appeared very apt to learn the prior was informed thereof and sent the youth to Oxford to study divinity, &c. Those novices who stayed out

their full seven years and remained in the monastery then sang their first mass and received 20*s.* a year wages.

Almoner or eleemosinarius: distributed alms and charitable donations to pilgrims and the poor who applied at the gate; bought clothing for widows, orphans, and others; collected what was left at table for alms, hunted out poor and infirm objects of charity, had care of the monks' garden, and reserved nice bits for the sick in the infirmary, sent an account of the deaths of brethren to neighbouring monasteries to obtain their prayers for the departed, and performed many other minor offices. He or the sacrist was the distributor of the eulogiæ, or loaves offered in the church for alms and consecrated, from a part of which the host was taken, and they were given to those who from any impediment could not take the sacrament. It was the custom in parish churches for every house in the parish to provide in turn "the holy loaf," and the good man or woman who provided it was specially remembered in the church's prayers that day. The substitution of wafers generally took place in the twelfth century. A cook's roll of Worcester convent *temp.* Edward IV. charges 4*d.* for—

"In pane benedicto emp. p. eccl'ia Sanct. Clement's."

The almoner resided close to the great gate

(Edgar Tower) that he might be near at hand for the poor applicants, his house being on the site of that now occupied by the Hon. and Rev. Canon Fortescue.

Besides these officers, who all had separate residences, there were others, including—the precentor or chantor; he was a monk educated in the monastery from a child, whose duty was to look after the choral services, distribute robes at the festivals, and arrange the order of divine service, chastised the boys and novices, repaired the books, and took care of the archives. He was probably the registrar, an office concerning which Dr. Thomas, in his "Survey," says:—

"The first registrar of whom we have any account was Godinge, a priest, who had lands given him by Bishop Oswald at Bredicot, Tibberton, &c., on condition that he should be the amanuensis of the see, and write all things that should be necessary to be inserted in the registers. He wrote many books for them and enjoyed his lands as long as he lived and his kindred after him, till the French (Normans) came and took it away."

There were also a steward and under-steward, offices which seem to have been sometimes held by the cellarer and his "sub." In the fifteenth century the king nominated, as steward for the lands of the monastery, Sir Walter Scull, who had a deputy or under-steward. "Sir" being a title given to the clergy in those days, this steward may

have been a priest or monk, yet the steward or seneschal was often a layman of rank, who, in company with the cellarer of the monastery, held manorial courts, transacted the abbot's or prior's business with the king, paid money into the exchequer, &c. A "master of the common supper" is constantly mentioned in the Worcester rolls—being no doubt one of the monks (not having a separate residence) who took charge of the evening meal. There was usually in monasteries a master of the common house, who kept up in that house the only fire allowed by the rules of the convent for the use of the monks in cold weather. He provided spices, figs, and walnuts, to be eaten in Lent, and entertained the convent at the feast of O Sapientia (Dec. 16). The master of the common supper at Worcester may have been this officer, with a different name. The chamberer or chamberlain found everything necessary for the clothes, bedding, cleanliness, bathing, and shaving of the monks, also for shoeing the horses; he attended fairs, provided knives, combs, and razors; lighted and extinguished the candles or lamps in the dormitory; gave out linsey woolsey for sheets and shirts, and white woollen cloth for socks; and supervised the cells and furniture. Pertaining to his office was the manor of Stoke Prior, which is the reason why there is nothing concerning that

manor in the great court rolls, but only in the lesser and distinct rolls, till after the dissolution of the monastery. The chamberlain had one or more tailors working daily under his directions, whose shop (situm sartrini)* was at the west of the cathedral. These tailors mended as well as made the clothing, shirts, socks, sheets, &c. The general supply of dark cloth had for Worcester monastery was called Northfolk or Northwich cloth—a finer cloth for the prior and his gentlemen and serge for the monks. In the fourteenth century English wool was exported for the manufacture of cloth abroad, until woollen factories were established at York, Norwich, and in Worcestershire, Kent, and Devonshire. Norwich in the time of Edward III. was the staple town for the sale of cloth for East Anglia. As early as the reign of Henry I. the Flemings settled at Worstead, near Norwich, whence the name of the wool spun by them. The Benedictines also wore linsey woolsey. Worcester and worsted cloths are mentioned in many old statutes, but I have found very few allusions thereto in the monastic rolls; the following being one of those few instances (6th year of Henry VII):

"Solut Joh'i Jones de Wigorn drap. p. panno laneo virid. coloris p. vestur. famuloru' du prior hoc a'o, xl*i*. xix*s*. iiij*d*."

* W. Blesensis episcopus reddidit nobis situm sartrini nostri ad occidens ecclesiæ.

Green cloth, purchased of John Jones, draper, of Worcester, was thus apparently used by some of the prior's "family," and the poor dependents on the establishment were clothed in frieze:—

"Solut eid'm p. panno de fryse p. vest'm xij paup. erga cena d'm* hoc anno."

The relative cost of the vestments is thus set down, 17th of Henry VII.:—

"Sol. convent'm p. eor. vest'm, viz., subprior viij*s.* et xxxv aliis monachis, viz., cuili't eor. v*s.* hoc anno, ix*li.* iij*s.*"

Thus the sub-prior received 8*s.* that year for his dress, and each of the thirty-five monks then in the house 5*s.*

There was likewise a granetarius or keeper of the granaries, who received all the grain that came to hand and all malt corn, and accounted for what malt was spent every week and what was delivered at the kiln and received therefrom. The porter was an elderly and judicious man, and had a deputy to take his place when he conveyed messages. He probably slept in the great gate-house (Edgar Tower), had an eye on the young inmates of the house to keep them from wandering, and to keep out young women and other improper

* The poor were clothed in Lent, on the Thursday previous to Good Friday, called Cœna Domini on account of the institution of the Lord's Supper.

visitors. He received poor people and pilgrims at the gate, and was always provided with loaves or offal meat for them. There is in existence an elaborate list of rules by which he was to be guided, and which are chiefly aimed against the admission of females, sturdy beggars, and improper persons, tippling strong drink, the committal of nuisances, the riding of horses through to water or washing clothes in the Severn, and the enforcement of respect to persons of good quality calling at the gate. If these porters were so rigid in the exclusion of females what can be the meaning of this mysterious entry in a roll of 25th Henry VI.?

"Item, le mydwyfe, iij*s.* iiij*d.*"

Probably the services of the good woman were required for some lady visitor, as the item occurs in connection with the names of certain of the nobility then staying at the monastery. There were porters at other parts of the monastery besides the great gate, and many other inferior officers were necessary to the staff of a conventual establishment, such as a keeper of the orchards, master of the workmen, pig-keeper, custodian of the larders and baskets, barbers, tailors, bakers and sub-bakers, and every officer from the highest to the lowest had his secondary or assistant. Barbers were sometimes hired from the outer world, but in most cases

the monks shaved each other's heads; this was done weekly in the cloisters, when they also washed their heads and pared their nails. In later years the barber and gatekeeper at Worcester monastery were one and the same official. In 1360 the cellarer of Worcester monastery erected a barber's house or lodging (domum ras'ture) in the infirmary. Prior Moore's barber, John Perrett, received the very large salary of 20*s.* a quarter. There was a multitude of servants in these establishments: at Evesham abbey there were sixty-five in the time of William II., and fifty-nine at the dissolution, and there could not have been a less number at Worcester. They were sometimes married men, not lay brethren. The latter were attached to monasteries, took certain vows, and received food and clothing. They sometimes bought and sold for the monks and fetched provisions from the granges and manor-houses; they had beards, while the monks were shaved, and therefore were called bearded brothers and viatores, from their frequent travelling on business. The following document purports to give a list of—

"Duties which the prior ought to have out of ye celerer's office and of all other offices within ye monasterie of Worc'r.

"This indenture, written and caused to be made, &c., John Stokes, sup-prior, John Weddisbury, sextenne, Robert Alchurch, farmerar, Wm. Cliftonne, master of ye chapel,

Robt. Lynsey, amener (almoner), John Hales, hostyller, Wm. Hodington, pytenser, Edmund Ledbury, tumber., Humphrey Graftonne, chamburar, Thos. Stafforde, celerar, John Kedermister, chadcutter,* and Wm. More, kechener, on sixth daye of November, in twentieth yere of Henry 7th, the yere of our LORD 1504, witnesseth and recordeth of all such dewtyes that our reverend fader in GOD ye prior of Worc'r owt to have of the celerar's office and of all other officers within ye monastrie of Worc'r; also it recordeth and showeth of all lordeshipps and lands that our fores'd fader p'or receiveth his rents of, and also expresseth the s'm yn everie place. Fyrst he must have of dewtie as much bred and ale of the celerar's office as shal suffice hymself, his chaplains, his gentlemen yeomen, and grooms, with all other strangers, whether he lie in the monastrie or in anie other place within ye diocess or without. Alsoe the celerar shal provyde a tonne of redd and claret wyne to ly styll hoolly if the king and prince or anie other noblemen come, that wyne there to be redy, and if the king come yn to countrie, the prince, or anie other grete estate, the celerar shal provide all other vytells, then having liberty to go or send unto p'kes or poolys, with warrans that belonging to our forsayde father p'our, ther to take such things as shalbe necessarie for the tyme with the consent of the keper. Lyckwise the celerar shal provyde wyne with all other vittyls for the king's ju'gs (judges) and all other strangers when they come unto our monasterie. Also the celerar shal provide wyne for our fader p'our's guest, on everie solemp fest when he is at home in the monastry. Also our fader priour shal have wod, fuell, and cariage of the same, as much as he needeth to expend of the celerar's office whensoever he lye (at home). Alsoe our fader p'ior shal have ote mele, salte, mustert, as much as he needeth to spende, of ye celerar's office whensoever he lye. Furthermore the celerar's office is and shalbe bound to bear the charges of all maner of pleys

* "Chats" were small shoots or brushwood; "chads" were dry husky fragments of food; but Mr. Walcott suggests that the word here means a chaffcutter.

(pleas) pledyd for land or anie other cause in anie temporall court or spirituall court, on what pleys that ever to be pledyd. Moreover ye celerar's office shal bear the charges of reparacon of our fader pr's m—— (monastery?) with mete and drynk unto ye workmen, and provyde all maner of stuffe that longeth to the reparacon as well within ye monastrie as without. Also the cellerer's offyce and ye cellerer for the tyme being shal provyde a cart with horses and all thinges concerning them to convey and carry our fader ye p's stuft fro maner to maner, and bring him weeklie his ale with other necessaries to hit when it is called upon by our seyd fader or his servants. Also the cellerar is bound and shalbe bounde to keepe the reparacon of parelles, stondis, stenys, ffaucetts, potts, cuppys, and to by new as oft as nede requireth, acordyng as he hath done in tyme past. Also the cellerer's office and the cellarer for the tyme being shal provyde heye, provender for our father the pr's horses, with medecyne, shewing as oft as nede requireth. Also the gentlemen and yeomen shal have theyr horses standyth shewing with otes and rye and hoose money of the cellerer's office, with all other officers according to ye olde custom, or money for it as they can agree. Also our fader the pr'r shal have flour of the cellerar's office for all maner of bake mets as much as he nedeth to spend, and as oft as he nedeth therof. Alsoe our fader ye p'r shal have by hands of his servaunts corn for swannys, for geese, capons, henys, and chykens, and whete for partrigs as moch as he hath nede to spend of the cellerer's office. Also the celerar shal make provysion and bere the charge when our father p'r jorneyith on necessarie causes concerninge our monasterie, as at vysitacons, the general chapiter, with other lyck. Moreover our fader p'r shal receive of ye sexten's office and of the sextens for ye tyme being wax candilles to sey sr'nes (sermons or services?) and devocions as manie and as ofte as he nedeth. Also the sextenns for ye tyme being shal provyde all maner stuffe necessarie unto our father ye pr's chapell, with reparacon of ye same, and wax, wyne, and bred, as much as he shal have nede to expend in what place soever he lye within the dioces or without.

"Here foloweth ye cheif rents that our father ye p'r shal receive in dyvers lordshipps. In Donamford, of Wm. Warren a race of ginger, of the same Wm. a nott curnell (nut kernel), of the same Wm. a red roose. Of Icom (manor of Iccomb), Joan (or John) Bonnd a red roose. In Crowle, of Isabel Brokbring a *li.* pepur (1 lb. pepper). Of R. Wastell a *li.* comyn. In Alvustonne, of Robt. Wadger d. *li.* pepur (½ lb.)

"Here foloweth ye sums of monie that our fad'r p'r shal receyve yerely of the celerer's office and of all other officers wythin our monastrie of Worc'r for ye tyme being officers. Fyrst he shal receive of the celerer for ye tyme being in monye everie quarter in ye yere v*li.* for his servaunts wages, wax, spice for strays, with other dewties that were used to be had of the said office to the use and behoof of our fad'r p'r, summa xx*li.* He shal receive of the celerer's office for his fferretts everie quarter of ye yere xv*d.*, summa v*s.* Alsoe he shal receive for the ye'math (haymath ?) of Dydeley (Diglis fields, near Worcester) vi*s.* viij*d.* Alsoe he shal receive of the celarer for his O * xij*s.*; also for his seyny † money, viij*s.*; for Wolstan's obite, iij*s.*; for Ankerden's obite, ij*s.* viij*d.*; for chese monye, ij*s.* viij*d.*; for the hedesylver ‡ of Cropthorne, viij*s.*; also of the chantor for his O, iv*s.*; also of the chamberar for St. Kelam's daye, viij*s.*; for ye nativitie of Our Ladye viij*s.*; for cloth, hooses, and boots, xli*s.*; for O Emanuel § iiij*s.*; for hede sylver of Stoke vi*s.* viij*d.*; also he shal receive of everie convent seale sealyde ij*s.*, and of the pitensary for O Virgo Virgin'm ¶ iiij*s.*; for Pechelye obite at Crismass iiij*s.*; for Our Ladie day in Merch, xv*s.*; for woll at Midsumm'r iiij*s.*; for seyny monney ij*s.* viij*d.*; for John Mochney's obite, iij*s.*; for Michelmes daye xv*s.*; also he shal receive of the amener for seynt Wolstan's corody v*li.*; for p'r John Evesham's obit xx*s.*; for Molen's obit iij*s.*; for Carter's obit iij*s.*; also he shal receive of the feremerar for the nativitie of Our Ladie iij*s.*; for lectuarns and medycines xiij*s.* iiij*d.*; of the

* This may have been obit money or for the feast of O Sapientia (see p. 267.)

† See chapter on feasting and cookery.

‡ See chapter on manors.

§ See p. 265.

¶ See p. 266.

tumber. at Michelmas xviij*d.*; ——— terce p'or for spicery mony at Allhallow daye some tyme lesse and some tyme more, most comonlie vi*s.* viij*d.*

"Here folowethe ye names of ye lordshippes and landes that our fad'r ye p'r shal receive his rentes of, the s'm is expressed. Of Hallowe viij*li.*; of the More and Newnham lij*li.*; of the pencons of churches xxviij*li.* iij*s.* iiij*d.*; of Bradwas, x*li.*; of Cleve, for rente and a borr (boar), xx*s.*; of Condurton, xiij*s.* iiij*d.*; Wolverley, viij*li.*; Crowle, viij*li.* xi*s.* viij*d.*; Humilton, xxiv*li.* vi*s.* v*d.*; Tyburton, xiiij*li.* ij*s.* xi*d.*; Grymley, xiv*li.* vi*s.* viij*d.*; Bate'hall, xiij*li.* vi*s.* viij*d.*; Lypparde, iij*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*; of the hedsylver, v*li.* vij*s.*; Kingsn'n, xv*li.* x*s.*; of sewte sylver of Gestonhall, x*s.* vi*d.*; of the bayly of Su'bury for a borr, vi*s.* viij*d.*; the baylie of Bradwas, for a borr, vi*s.* viij*d.*; of the parsonage of Berowe vij*li.*; of Thos. Lilly of Batenhall iij*li.* vi*s.* viij*d.* Also our master p'r shal paye to spicery money at Alhalow daye xx*s.*; also he shal give for his O to brekefast money vi*s.* viij*d.*; also he shall give geese to the convent at the nativitie of Our Lord, as other officers do. Also he shal paye to p'st pitans a doss. brede and a doss. ale; also he shal pay iij*s.* iiij*d.* for brekefast on Whitson Monday; also he shal receive of everie officer new made at Michelmas viij*d.* ye sexton except

"Thys indenture trip'tite is written and made by us (names as at the beginning of the document) by consent of our mayster and fader Thomas p'r of Worc'r, and with ye consent of all the hoole convent, to th' intent we might exclude greater sums of monie and greter chardges that our fathers p'rs of Wo'r herbefore have used to have, and to greatlie charge our celerer's office. Wherfore now it is agreed and fullie determined by our father p'rs counsell, with consent of all the hole convent, that all dewties and summs of mony that are wythin this indenture trip'tyte written our fader p'r now being for the tyme of his life shal have and receive yerely at such dayes as by this present writing be assigned. And to the intent that this writing and deed shal be firm and stable we the fores'd John Stokes, supp'r, and all the hoole convent of the cathedrall churche of Worc'r have put unto this present writinge

trip'tite indentyde our convent seale in the tyme of our chapter, the daye, month, and yere above written. Also I, Thomas, by the grace of GOD of the cathedrall churche of Worc'r, to the intente that the present writinge shalbe firm and stable in tyme comming, in confirmacon of all my brethren's provysions, actes, and deedes, in this behalfe, I have put to this p'sent writing trip. indent. my seale. Given in our manor of Batenhale ye last daye of Nov. ye yere above written."

It has been stated that wages were paid to all officers. By the decretals of Wolsey (1519) 60*s.* per annum was to be paid to every canon priest and 30*s.* to a canon layman. The religious were allowed also to have pensions or money from their parents or friends to buy clothes, with the consent of the abbot or prior, and the chamberlain sometimes gave money in lieu of clothes. The general chapter of 1338 allowed money to be given for small necessaries. There was a regularly graduated scale of payment to every officer and monk, from the prior downward, as also for all feasts, special services, masses, obits, &c. Thus, in 1520, the prior received 8*s.* per annum for O Virgo Virginum, while for the same service the sub-prior had 4*s.* 6*d.*, the precentor 4*s.*, and thirty-nine monks 3*s.* each. Similar payments were made for Nominis Jesu, O Emanuel, O Sapientia, O Radix Jesse, Salve Regina, &c. These were the names, or first words, of certain anthems sung on allotted days, and probably the allowance of money on those occasions was as a

reward for the extra pains bestowed on the service, and subsequently to feast and be merry. Here is an entry *temp.* Henry VII. :—

"Solut p. victual. empt. p. O Virgo Virginum hoc anno xx*d.*"

"O Sapientia" was the beginning of an anthem or chant sung on the 16th of December (for the honour of CHRIST'S advent) and from that day till Christmas Eve. It was an antiphonal chant, commencing "O wisdom, which proceedeth from the mouth of the MOST HIGH," and is partly taken from the book of Jesus the son of Sirach and partly from the wisdom of Solomon. On the night when it was first sung the convent were treated by the master of the common supper to a feast of figs, raisins, ale, and cakes. "Salve Regina" was the anthem "Hail, Queen, blessed Mother of Our LORD." Du Cange says it was the sequence which Peter bishop of Compostella composed. Jordan, a general of the Dominicans, introduced it about the year 1266; it was a gaudium or common song, and especially sung by beggars at people's doors. Here are other instances of distinctive payments:—

"Sol. convent'm p. O Emanuel, viz., supp'ori ij*s.*, et xxxv. aliis monachis, viz., cuili't eor. xij*d.*, hoc anno xxxvij*s.*

"Sol. convent'm ad f'm Nativitat. b'te Marie, viz., supp'ori vi*s.* vi*d.*, et xxxiij aliis monachis cuili't eor. vi*s*, summa xi*li.* xiij*s.*

"Sol. convent'm in pecuniis ex nova ordinas. ad f'm S'ti Kenelmi, viz., supp'ori vi*s.* vi*d.*, et xxxiij al. monachis cuili't eor. vi*s.*, summa xi*li.* xvij*s.* vi*d.*

"Sol. convent'm p. obitu' Walt'i Lygh quond. p'oris, ad f'm Assumpc'ois b'te Marie, lij*s.*"

Again, the chantor charges 2*s.* for his own share of O Emanuel, and 6*d.* for each of the monks when they performed obits, or obituary services for the dead. Among the obits specially named were those for St. Wulstan, Prior Myldenham, Thomas Carter, Robert Multon, John Evesham, Wm. Molens, Prior Walter, John Mocheney, and generally for the benefactors of the church. When therefore in these monastic rolls we meet with a sum of money charged "for his O" it may mean either an allowance made for obituary services, or for "O Sapientia" or any other anthem, or for the monk's "ordinatum," when he said his first mass. It was formerly a custom throughout France, says Sir Thomas Urquhart, and is still in some parts of it, to make, in the parish church, about seven o'clock in the evening, for the nine days next before Christmas, certain prayers or anthems, called the Christmas O Os, because in the books which prescribe these anthems they begin with O O, as O Sapientia, O Adonai, O Radix, &c. To him that was last married in the parish, especially if he were in good circumstances, was carried a very large O, represented in burnished gold on a large piece of

very thick parchment, with several ornaments of gold or other fine colours. This O was, every evening of the nine days, put on the top of the lutrin: there staid the O all the time the anthem was singing. The person to whom the O had been sent was wont in return to make a present of a piece of money to the curate, who on his part spent some of it in regaling his friends. After the holidays the O was carried back to the new married man, who set it up in the most honourable place of his house. Readers of mediæval chronicles and other writings will observe that many Sundays and other days in the year are distinguished solely by the names of the anthems or introits sung on them, thus (from Roger de Hoveden): "On the LORD'S Day before 'Lætare Jerusalem' is sung."* Sundays were called "Dominica jubilate," "Dominica resurrexi," "Dominica cantate," "Dominica omnes gentes," and so on. The names of the days of the week were mostly borrowed from classic heathenism, thus: "Dies Lunæ," Monday; "Dies Martis," Tuesday; "Dies Mercurii," Wednesday; "Dies Jovis," Thursday; "Dies Veneris," Friday; "Dies Sabbati," or "Saturni," Saturday; "Dies Dominica," Sunday.

Here follows a list of payments and allowances

* "Rejoice, Jerusalem, and meet together, all you who love her."

made in Worcester monastery just previously to the suppression of religious houses, and it is given as a specimen of the rolls of expenditure, omitting the word "Item" at the beginning of each line:—

"Solut p' centori no'ie Augme'tas officii, s'm. liij*s.* iiij*d.*
P. tabula capellani d'm p'oris v*s.*
Officio tu'bari p' an. xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Sub elemos. p' custod' le am'y* in refectori v*s.*
Conve't p' specieb's vi*s.* viij*d.*
Et eid'm co've't p' O Emanuel vi*s.* viij*d.*
D'no p'ori p' capon' iiij*s.*
Famul's d'm p'oris in advent p' co'e cena† xx*d.*
Div'sis s'rvietib's hujus mon' p' eor' caligs‡ xxvij*s.* iiij*d.*
Valect. elemos. p' stipend. suo p' ann. xlvi*s.* viij*d.*
Et eid'm p' toga sua x*s.*
Custodi altaris s'ti Ed'i viij*s.*
Custod. altaris s'te Secillis xl*d.*
Custod. altaris s'ti Johis bapt'e iij*s.* iiij*d.*
P' susten' i lampad. pend. in capella p'd viij*d.*
P' jantaclo§ fact conve't in crast. Pasche et affeto'is d'm p' obit Rob. Molton x*s.*
P' aucs dat. conve't ij*s.* iiij*d.*
Solut Walt'o borne valect. hostill. vi*s.* viij*d.*
Scholar. p' convent. xx*s.*
P' jantaclo fact. convent in ffesto s'cti Johis' bapt'e et in die s'ti Petri ij*s.*
Sub elemos. p' tabula sua p' ann. x*s.*
In feod. senesc. d'ci elemos. x*s.*
Solut p' cera empt. ad usu capelle s'ti Joh'is bapt'e et in domo elemos. vi*s.* viij*d.*"

In the kitchen department were among the inferior officers the freyser, boylar, page, swyneman, turne-

* Almery, aumbrey, or cupboard. ‡ Hose.
† The common supper. § The conventual breakfast.

broche (turnspit), kesynnar cat'r (kitchener or caterer), and others, all of whom received fixed wages, as likewise had the keepers of the lamps in the cathedral, the cloisters, dormitory, &c. In 1524 the total income of the monastery for the year (£1,219. 6*s.* 6*d.*) was thus allocated among the officers:—Prior, £147. 12*s.* 5*d.*; sub-prior (pounds omitted), 21*s.*; cellarius, £368. 3*s.* 5½*d.*; to ditto for certain breakfasts, £50; sacrist, £75. 10*s.* 1*d.*; oblations, £93. 2*s.* 2*s.*; eleemosynarius, £78. 9*s.* 7*d.*; cook, £134. 8*s.* 2*d.*; carnarius (an officer probably employed to kill and cure flesh), £64. 1*s.* 8*d.*; pittancer, £44. 19*s.* 6*d.*; master of the chapel, £17. 15*s.*; infirmarer, £9. 7*s.* 4*d.*; precentor, £118. 4*s.*; keeper of shrines, 10*s.* 9*d.*; master of the common supper, £10. 5*s.* 5*d.*; hostiler, £14. 18*s.* 8*d.*; refectorer, £2. 11*s.* 4*d.*; succentor, 13*s.* 4*d.*

The prior of Worcester had generally four gentlemen attendants, besides yeomen, valets, and inferior servants, all of whom received stipends, including specific charges for their breakfasts on feast days, and for their livery* or clothing. The stipend of one of these valets was 20*s.* a year, with clothing:—

"In stip' uni's valett p' a'o cum vesturo ejus'm xx*s.*"

* "Livery" is from "Libero," to deliver or give up to another, and included whatever was delivered at stated periods to servants or dependents in the way of food or clothing, in part of their wages; but in modern times confined to clothing.

The list of linen gowns belonging to the cellarer to distribute among the servants at Easter included the organ player, schoolmaster, baker, porter, brewer, beadle, barber, yeomen, carter, horse-keeper, &c.; and charges are made for "tokyng gyrdylls" (tucking girdles) wherewith the monks tucked up their gowns while at work. One of the "lyvereys of bred" I have met with among the records is as follows:—

"To the sup'pr. (sub-prior) his comaundments resenabuly usyng*

The cellarer as nede is for strangers.

The brewarne servants wyckly xiv loffs, everie loff weyng iij monk loves.

To the hostry for strangers and wey faryng men, not to be stented, but as nede.

The king's corrody vij monk loves and iiij yoman pastloffs.

To George Spellesbury being clarke of our corts vij monk loves.

G. Spellesbury for ye awdit'rs office iij monkloffs.

The yoman of the celler iiij monkloves and iij yomen pastloves.

To sup'pr's yoman vij yoman pastloffs.

The parker of Batnal vij monkloves and for kepyng ye manor pooles vij yoman pastloves.

Ye yoman of ye hostry v. yoman pastloffs.

To the other yoman of ye hostry v. yoman pastloffs

The yoman of ye lords stabull iiij monkloves and iij yoman pastloffs.

The yoman porter of ye p'ory yeatt (priory gate—Edgar Tower) vij m. l.†

The yoman carter v. y. p. l.

* All reasonable commands were to be obeyed.

† For the rest of the document I have put only the initials of the loaves.

The yoman of ye misericord vij m. l.
The yoman grume porter iiij y. p. l.
To the iij clarks of ye church vij m. l.
The lardener of ye co'vent kychion kyngeot viij y. p. l.
To the seyny cooke iiij y. p. l.
To the freys maker iiij y. p. l.
To the bootman (boatman at the ferry) v. y. p. l.
To the wynnowar in ye winnowe iiij y. p. l. and ij spensabull loffs.
To kep'r of ye lordes garden iiij y. p. l.
To ye myller for cleansing of ye vessels in ye celler ij y. p. l.
To same myller for watching with ye brewar ij y. p. l.
To kep'r of Beverey manor i y. p. l. and ij spensabull loves
To the cookes for ye markett loff i y. p. l.
To co'vent lawnder iiij y. p. l.
For ye cartars lyvery viij y. p. l.
Swyneman viij sp. l.
To page of ye co'vent kychion iij sp. l.
Turne broche (turnspit) of ye kychion iiij sp. l.
To ye iiij were lyvereys belonging to ye kessyn'r (kitchener) xxxij sp. l.
To chamberar greaunde i sp. l."

Ale was dispensed to the officers after the same proportion, being sometimes termed "gifts of ale" and at others "gallands." The sub-prior's tub is mentioned as containing seventeen gallons, and "ye tubbe of ye farmarie" (infirmary) sixteen gallons.

There appears to have been a monk's prison in the convent, and another in the bishop's palace for offending clergymen. Habingdon says:—

"There was in this church a prison for convicted clerks, such as are now at gaole deliveries saved fro' death by read-

ing. The porter of the pallace was thyer keeper, a place of yt importance and when the bishop ordained once his porter of his pallace the chapter refused to confirme the graunte unless the porter gave securitie for save keeping those prisoners, for in the vacancie of the see, the prior and monks being the chapter, stood answerable for the prison. Every clerk convicted was delivered out of this prison by the verdict of twelve clerks, which was called his purgation, at whose delivery p'clamation was made yt if any would allege any cause against his discharge he should speake."

The prior and convent, acting as bishop when the see was vacant, naturally exercised a veto on the appointment of the episcopal gaoler. Only two items in reference to the palace prison have presented themselves to my notice in the records, namely, the first in Prior Moore's journal:—

"Paid to Walter Borne, for two pair of gyves for prisoners in ye palies, *vis.* viij*d*."

The other is in the time of Edward VI., when the bishop appointed Edmund Rudding and Wm. Beldon keepers of the palace "ac gaole mei in eode'." With regard to the monks' prison, there is no certainty as to its locality, but some have supposed it to have been in the rooms communicating with the chapel on the south side of the chancel, and since known as "Cromwell's rooms." Mr. Kings, in his "Munimenta Antiqua," has a plate showing the inside of the great room, the ascent to which is by a very steep and narrow staircase from the side

of the south aisle, in the same part of the church as at Canterbury, and this ascent was said to be secured not only by a strong door at the bottom, with cavities remaining in the side walls for an exceedingly strong bar, but also by several machicolations the whole way overhead. From this fortified appearance a tale had taken rise, and was retailed by the guides, that Cromwell resided in these rooms during his stay at Worcester; which story, the author believed, had little more credit than that concerning King John of France at Canterbury; although, considering the spacious convenience of these apartments at both places, neither the one nor the other was absolutely impossible. Prattenton heard an idle story in 1826, that in making alterations at the deanery the workmen found a room to which there was no entrance, that in it was a harpsichord mouldering away, that the ashes of a fire still remained in the grate, and that this was supposed to be the private room in which Cromwell indulged his passion for music. The monks' prison was supposed to have had some connection with the priory; but Prattenton thought the apartments, or "Cromwell's rooms," too large for a prison and the floors too ornamental, they being partly covered with beautiful encaustic tiles, which have since been made the subject of a special paper by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, of Derby. One or

more of these rooms, according to Professor Willis, seem to have been the monastic treasury, and in Prattenton's time the music school was held there. The monks' "chapter for correction" was held every day after prime in the chapter-house. It should be stated that at Durham there were three prison-rooms or cells in nearly a similar position as the above, being attached to the chapter-house.

After the dissolution the new foundation established by Henry VIII. changed the entire staff of the establishment. Instead of a prior and his subordinates, whose duties and functions have now been described, were substituted a dean, ten prebendaries, ten minor canons, ten singing men, and as many choristers, a master and usher of the grammar school and forty scholars, ten bedesmen, a master of the choristers who was likewise organist, two vergers, two sextons, two porters, two cooks, a manciple, and caterer (in all 103). Attached to the new establishment were also other officers, including a chapter clerk, registrar, steward, receiver and treasurer, auditor, surveyor of lands, butler, beadle of the beggars, overlooker or inspector of the cathedral buildings, gatekeeper, barber, salt officer, &c. At first, under the new foundation, the officers had a common table as in monastic days, but this was eventually abandoned by agreement, and in consequence of a petition from those who partook of it,

and the system of payments by money, corn, wood, fagots, &c., substituted. In 1603 every prebend received twenty-two quarters of barley and four bushels ten quarters of wheat yearly. Several of the offices above-mentioned gradually fell into desuetude, and some of them were held as sinecures by noblemen and gentlemen not attached to the cathedral staff. Thus in the seventeenth century Lord Coventry was the high steward, at a salary of £4 a year; while Mr. Thos. Street, as deputy, did the real work of the stewardship. In 1676 mention is made of the appointment of Charles Whitaker, gent., to the office of steward of "a three weeks' court at the palace-gate," but what kind of court this was I have failed to discover. Was it a court of piepoudre in connection with a fair held in the churchyard? The registrar of the diocese, who was probably not an episcopal officer merely, but acted in the same capacity for the dean and chapter, received a salary of four loads of hay payable from Kempsey manor, and "one livery or suit of clothes of the sort worn by gentlemen belonging to us and our successors (sic), to be likewise annually received."

Roger Folliott was the first chapter clerk elected on the reformed foundation, 35th Henry VIII. He resided in a house in St. Michael's parish, having a garden near the city wall in the parish of St. Peter.

The house was leased to him for three years, at 20*s.* yearly rent and 2*s.* for the garden, and to do suit and service at the Guesten-hall court. He also held the Bell Inn, Sidbury (now called the King's Head, to which it was changed after the restoration of Charles II., in respect to the memory of his father), and other property belonging to the dean and chapter, as late as the year 1609, when he must have been a man of venerable antiquity, or otherwise it was then his son bearing the same name. However there is no mention of any other chapter clerk till 1605, when Rd. Dell was admitted to the office. In 1610, Stephen Maylard, whose notarial mark is given in another part of this work, was the chapter clerk. The stipend at first was but £4 a-year, but fees probably were abundant, and Maylard was pensioned off in 1612, on an annuity of 40*s.* Mr. Thos. Maylard succeeded him, and in 1641 Stephen Richardson was appointed. He lived to witness the disruption of all things by the civil wars and with it a great reduction of professional fees, as appears by an order of the chapter in 1644—

"That Mr. Richardson, our chapter clerk, in regard of the decaye of p'te of his fees, shall have his ¾ cwt. of wood made up 3 cwt. of wood per ann. provided Mr. Dean give his consent thereto and ratify this act."

It would appear that Mr. Richardson survived till

after the restoration, and was reinstated in his old office in 1660, the stipend being still £4 a-year. In 1665 the office of chapter clerk and registrar was conferred on John Littleton, gent., who held it for ten years and then resigned, being succeeded by John Price, bachelor of laws and public notary. This resignation had evidently arisen from undue exaction in fees for making leases and licences, a special order appearing on the books which put an end to this "great scandall and dishonour," and fixing 40*s.* to be paid on each lease and 20*s.* for every licence. Mr. Price having obtained a lease of the old charnel-house premises, between the north porch of the cathedral and the present gateway of the palace, erected a new house (now inhabited by Mrs. Marshall) and resided there many years. He was appointed collector of Whitsun farthings and pensions due to the cathedral church and leased a considerable share of cathedral property in the city, including three small tenements near the lich-gate and the Mitre Inn, High-street. Mr. Francis Tolley was appointed chapter clerk *pro tem.* on the death of Mr. Price in 1705, and soon afterwards Mr. Thos. Oliver was elected; he was succeeded in 1735 by Mr. Wm. Oliver, who held the office forty years, and then resigned it into the hands of Mr. Rd. Clarke, public notary, at whose decease in 1796 Mr. John Clifton, public

notary, was elected as under steward, chapter clerk, registrar, and collector of pentecostals, and the office has ever since remained in the hands of members of the same family. An estimate of the extent of business transacted by the clerk to the chapter may be formed from an order made in 1795—

"That the chapter clerk be allowed two reams of paper annually, in consideration of the many letters he writes on the dean and chapter's business and for other consumption of writing paper."

The office of receiver of rents, &c., seems to have been distinct from that of treasurer. In the receiver's account book for 1608 are the following lines, which that officer seems to have composed or appropriated, as an epitaph, in view of his own approaching dissolution:—

"Now Death hath done his warste,
To me the verie best,
For now my labours cease
And I lye here at rest.
At rest my body lyes
Vntill the latter daye,
But sowle hath past the skyes
And lives with CHRIST for aye."

With regard to the other officers of the reformed establishment, the butler was described as a "gent.," the duties being probably performed by deputy. In 1674, Wm. Leigh, "gent. and sexton," had the lease of a house at the east end of the cathedral, and

in 1681 the sexton's office was given to "Rd. Davyes, gent." The sexton had £6 a-year, and when appointed he received twopence as "earnest money" (a custom observed in nearly all business transactions and engagements of that period); and by his patent of appointment he was authorised to distrain on the manor of Cropthorne if at any time his salary should be one month in arrear. Every salaried officer held a similar lien upon some manor or other belonging to the chapter. In 1563, Philip Young, almsman, on being pensioned off, was empowered in case of his pension being in arrear to distrain on the manor of Hardwick.

Some of the duties discharged were of an incongruous kind: in the year last named John Symons was appointed gate-keeper, porter, or janitor, and also to the office of barber thereto belonging, at £6 salary, which being at any time in arrear he was empowered to distrain on the manor of Overbury. The porter and barber—whether that office was held by one or two individuals—resided at the gate, but it is not stated whether this was at Edgar Tower or at the house over the "grates" at the entrance to High-street. The vergers were appointed inspectors of the cathedral buildings in 1672—

"That one of the cooks' places being now void by the death of Hugh Phillips, the stipend or salary thereof be

conferred upon Thos. Mence and John Tombes, the now vergers, provided they bestow their diligence in frequent viewing and looking to ye leads of the church and in p'venting and discovering any abuses that may there happen."

And the duties of these officials were thus subsequently interpreted:—

"That they or any of them shall every second Monday morning go round and view all the leads of the church as aforesaid and rep'sent the state of them truly to the treasurer or general receiver, that soe due care may be taken in this matter; and in this service Mence shall begin on Monday, Dec. 6, and Tombes that day fortnight, and soe alternately; and if they or either of them faile in p'forming their said service, it is ordered that the said salary shall be withheld from the neglecter and not paid again upon any submission but by order of the chapter."

Some years previously one Victor Drew had been appointed "to overlook ruinous and decayed places in or upon the cathedral church, whereby the same may be well and sufficiently repaired." For this service he was paid £1. 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly; and in addition he was "quarterly to sweep and keep clean all the pillars and windows and both sides of the cathedral church from one end to the other unto the upper vante, and once a year the roof of the whole church swept and kept clean, for 13*s.* 4*d.* a year over his aforesaid salary."

The "beedle of ye beggers" received 2*s.* a quarter allowance, with coat and breeches; and the tailor's bill for tape, canvass, lining, buttons,

and thread, consumed in the manufacture of the said livery, is regularly detailed. His duty was "to keep off insolent beggers and misdemenors of boys and rude persons."

The most trifling duties were confided to special officers, *vide:*—

"To Henry Carter, for keeping ye pulpit for a quarter, 6*d.*"

And in 1666 the sexton charged 8*d.* for "perfuming ye bishop's seat." In the time of Queen Elizabeth, G. Showsmith was appointed glazier, at £3. 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, and David Brassye plumber, at £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly, for keeping in order the pipes conducting the water from Henwick, all lead and other materials being found him. A "salt officer" was likewise appointed by the dean and chapter. In 1775 William Sherwood held that office and lived in St. Nicholas parish. A salt market was at that time one of the institutions of the city and was held in front of St. Nicholas rectory house, now the site of the City and County Bank. It should be stated that most of the officers before named received certain fees in addition to their salaries and had houses in the precincts of the cathedral, at nominal rents, on condition of keeping them in good repair. Here is a list of fees payable to officers on the enthronization of a bishop: to the chantor, £1. 6*s.* 8*d.*; petty

canons, £3; lay clerks, £2. 13*s.* 4*d.*; two schoolmasters, 10*s.* 8*d.*; organist, 5*s.* 4*d.*; choristers, 10*s.* 8*d.*; sextons, 13*s.* 4*d.*; beadsmen, £2.; porters, 8*s.*; vergers, 13*s.* 4*d.*; ringers, 10*s.*; chapter clerk, £2. 13*s.* 4*d.* At the installation of a dean half these sums and at that of a prebend a fourth part were paid.

Chapter V.

—o—

THE REFECTORY—COOKING AND FEASTING.

"Not a peg from the cloister must we dare to roam,
While the lords of a dwelling withdraw to their home,
To a smoking good fare, then sit themselves down,
And with nectar of heaven their blest moments crown."

THE dietary rules of the Benedictine order were these: they were to serve each other by turns in cooking and at table. When in the refectory the monks drew their hoods over their eyes and ate in silence, making a sign for what they required, and during the repast a reader commenced a lecture. In the Worcester refectory the site of the pulpit in which the lecturer stood, with the approach or stair to it through the wall, are still seen by a window in the north wall, at a considerable elevation above the ground. The monks were to have only two cooked

dishes and one uncooked, with a pound of bread and a hemine of wine, whether they had two meals in the day or only one. They were to fast more or less every day from the middle of September to the beginning of Lent, and during Lent to eat only after vespers. They were to abstain from all flesh of quadrupeds, but this rule was not so rigidly enforced as with some orders: many inland monasteries being unable to obtain fish in sufficient abundance for their necessities, the use of flesh was resorted to; and in all cases weak and ailing monks and inmates of the infirmary were indulged with it. Fat pigs and other stock were killed at Martinmas, and vast loads of provisions were generally salted for supplies during the winter. Hides were thus furnished for harness, boots, and shoes; and tallow for candles, which were frequently made in the monastery. Bacon, beef, "muttons," geese, and chickens; herrings, eels, salmon, and salt fish; figs, rice, raisins, almonds*; spices of all kinds, bread, cakes, eggs, ale, fruit, beans, peas, and cabbage; constituted their staple fare. Their gardens, abounded with fruit trees, herbs for salves, some kinds of cabbage (called wyrt beds), beans, and pot herbs. The following is put down in Prior

* Almonds were in high esteem and imported in large quantities from the south of Europe. They were used in many ways, but boiled into a delicious cream, the famous butter of almonds was made.

Moore's book as "lenten stuff"—that is, the articles usually consumed in Lent: "A loff of sewg'r, a qrt. of almonds w't ye bagge, a barrell of nete oyle, a berken of samon, fygs and resons, ryce, two barrels of herryngs, two burthorne of grene fysshe, two hhd. of salt fysshe and hake xij*d*." The Worcester monks, it seems, had decided opinions as to the meats and drinks which created good or bad "juices," for in one of their books of the early part of the sixteenth century I find the following, probably copied from some contemporaneous work:—

"Meates and drynk making good iuyces (juices): bred of pure flour, somewhat levened, wel baked, not too olde nor too stale; egges of feysantes, hennes, or partriches, new layed, poched, meane betwene rere and hard; new mylk, drunck fastying, wherin is sewgur or the leves of myntes; feysants, partriches, or chykens, capons, or hennes, byrdes of ye field, fish of stony rivers, veale sucking, poorke yonge, bieffe not passing iij yeres, pigeons, veneson of red dere, pease potage, with myntes, ffete of swyne or calves, ffyggs, rype before meales, raysons, borage, languedbiefe,* perseley, myntes, ryce with almond milke, letyce, cykorye (chickory), grapes rype, wynes good moderately taken, well fyned, ale and biere six days old (!) clean brewed, and not strong, myrthe and gladnes, the lyver and brains of hennes and chyckens and young gese.

"Meates and dryncks making yll iuce (ill juice): olde byff, ole motton, swanne olde, duckes of the cannell, inward of bests, black podyngs, the hart, liver, and kydnes of all bests, the braynes of marye (marrow?) of the backbone,

* Langue de bœuf: ox-tongue; the plant called bugloss.

wood culvers,* shelfish except crenes, deandoulce,† chese hard, aples and pers much used, fygs and grapes not rype, all raw herbs except letyce, borage, and cikory; onyons immoderytly, garlecke used speciallie, lylkes in coleryck stomaks, wyne in must (unfermented?) or sower; ffeare, sorrow, pensifenes.

"Meates which hurteth ye teeth: verie hoote (hot) metes, nuttes, swete metes and dryncks, radishe rootes, hard metes, mylk, bitter meates, moche vomite, leckes, ffish fatt, lymones, colewortes.

"Meates ingendring flewme: all slymy and cleanyng metes, chese new, all fysh speciallie in a flewmatycke stomake, inwardes of bieffes, lambs flesh, the synewe p'ts of flesh, skins, brains, lungs, rapes, kokumbers, replecion, lack of exercyse.

"Metes which doth hurt the eyes: drunknes, lecherie, muste, all pulse, swete wynes and thyck wynes, hemp-seed, verie salt meats, garlyke, onyons, colewarts, radyshes, reading after supper immedyate."

The merits of figs, cherries, and almonds, are likewise discussed, the latter being said to "mollyfye the bealy, provoke sleep, and causeth to ——— well; fyve or six eaten before meale kepeth a man fro' being drunken." Then follows—

"The bratthe (breath, or smell) of an ox fleshe comforteth and strencketh more a body than flesh of anie other bests having four foots, and therfore it is verie prophetable for seke parsones. There is nothing in the oxe but it is verie profittable for ye use of mankind. Chese is a meate not wel digested, and doth grete harme to them that have a hard liver or milte. Chese much eaten doth increse the stone in ye bladder, therfore saieth ye excellent Constantyne the chese is not good eaten for religious persons dwelling in monastries,

* Wood culvers are wood pigeons, or "quiests."
† Probably De andouilles, or chitterlings.

but the chese which is fresh and mylkie is better to eat. The wey of chese causeth temporie purgation; chese much salted ingendrith stone and letteth to ———. The flesh of turtle doves is yll meate for a man because they have often the falling syckness named epilencia, wherby a person might geate anie dysease, but the other doves ben not all holsome nother, and a sike person shal not ete of them. The bloode under his ryght whing is good in medycin, healeth open blaynes, and is good for the yes (eyes). Peares causeth the colyck passion in ye bowelles, wyld peres stoppeth and noyeth ye stomake, but ye grete tame peres byn better usid in meates than the lyttle, and the iuce (juice) of both used before dyner stopeth ye bely, and usēd after dyner layeth the bely. Peres stamped and sodden in water and layed without on the stomak restrayneth vomite. Ipocras saith, after the eting of peres shalbe drunken good strong wyne."

In my sketch of the principal events of the life of Prior Moore it has been shown that the comforts and indulgences of the head of the monastery contrasted very strikingly with the simple dietary of the common monks. It was one of the injunctions of the archbishop of Canterbury to the same prior in 1534 that bread, drink, and other wholesome necessaries, should be provided and well cooked and provender procured for all the monks dining in the refectory. An old writer has said of the abbots and ecclesiastics of his day: "They consume all things and yet are not satisfied with the produce of heaven and the fishes of the sea; they seek many dishes, and a long time in eating them"—

" And if that one live well and virtuously,
In way of grace, like as he ought to go,
The remanent assaile him with envie,
And him oppress with grievous payne of wo,
Until they folowe like as the other do."

There are not wanting in the Worcester monastic records indications that some of the later priors at least had fallen into the luxurious and degenerate habits of the clergy generally. It has been shown

from Prior Moore's journal that he possessed a tolerable acquaintance with the qualities and necessary attributes of wines; this accomplishment however existed in monasteries at a much earlier period, as proved by a Worcester compotus roll *temp.* Ed. IV. Some of their wines were mixed with honey and spices, and considered great

delicacies. People of rank usually confined themselves to two meals, dinner and supper, and a kind of collation called "the wines" before going to bed. This collation consisted of delicate cakes and spiced wine. The term "piment" was applied generally to spiced wines, but the most favourite spiced wine was ipocras, a home-made liquor, hotly infused with spice, drunk after meals, and served in the bed chamber the last thing at night. They also ate spiced sweetmeats after their meals. Spices and other condiments were in great request and were bought chiefly in London when the prior visited the metropolis to lay in certain provisions for the winter and transact other business. Of these, saunders or sawndres, and saffron, are constantly mentioned in the rolls. The former was an eastern wood used in colouring sweetmeats, jellies, or cream; and the latter, employed in various processes of cookery, in sauces, and much in pottage at sheep-shearing, was made of the dried stigmas of the crocus sativus, then extensively cultivated in England. Shakspeare alludes to saffron as being in his time much used for colouring silks, bread, and many other things, till people became sick of it, and so it got out of fashion. The Easter simnels, however, have continued to be coloured with it up to our own time. The weight of saffron grown in Prior Moore's garden

in one year was but 3½ oz., as it took no fewer than 4,320 flowers to yield 1 oz., the value of which in the country was *22d.*, while in London the wholesale price was *11s.* per lb., or at least £5 of present money. In the prior's garden a woman was employed "in setting and dressing of ye panes (beds) of saffron." Frequent entries occur in the rolls of—

"In pip' croco sawndres amigdalis mell ryse et alleo empt. hoc anno."

That is—"pepper, saffron, saunders, almonds, honey, rice, and garlick, bought this year." The monks had great variety of fish from the Severn and the pools at their manor-houses, including salmon, ling, cod, stock fish, lampries, eels, and sea-fish from Bristol. They salted some of their salmon—

"P. trib's p'mus pypys salsi somones, lxxis."

In fact they salted almost everything in those days, for winter consumption, even the very greens from the garden (viridibus salsis) were sometimes salted and pickled. Dried herring, retaining its white colour (alleces albi) and the "powdered" or salt red-herring were extensively used. There were fisheries at Bevere, Hallow, Seedwell, Grimley, and Timberdyne. The last-named was a noted one, and that at Henwick (which place, together with Hallow, is said to have been much frequented by

the monks for their health and recreation) was the gulf, weir, pond, deep place, or "gurges," in the river from whence the greatest supply of fish was obtained. There was an officer called guardianus gurgitis de Henewyke, to whom belonged an island in the Severn; he was restrained from intermeddling with any other weirs, such as Hallow, Bevere, and Beverbourne (Barbourne). Many of the tenants, millers especially, who had streams under their care, were bound by the terms of their leases to furnish so many sticks or strikes of eels yearly at certain feast days. "Seyny money" is a regular weekly item of payments, and is somewhat puzzling as being coupled almost every week with the "players," but I am inclined to think that it refers to the cost of the fisheries in the Severn. "Seine" is still the name used for a fishing net, and also designated the net right in a river, or the place in which there was the right of fishing with a net. On some parts of our coast the fishermen are still called seiners. "Spent in le seyny at Beverey" apparently alludes to the fishery there.* Moreover in Worcester monastery there appears to have been a "seyny cook"—the officer to whom perhaps the important function of cooking fish belonged. Coquinarius

* But then the word also meant feasts, and saints' days were often written seins: were they fish feasts? Players would naturally be coupled with feasts.

however was head cook or kitchener. In 1454 John Clifton held that post.

> "A cook they hadden with them for the nones,
> To boil the chickens and the marie bones,
> And poudre marchant tart, and gallingale.
> Well could he know a draught of London ale.
> He could roaste, and sethe, and boil and frie,
> Maken mortrewis, and well bake a pie."

Besides these two officials were a cook who made puddings and sweetmeats (coc. voc. "le potinger," or "puddinger") and a cook exclusively for guests and visitors (coc. voc. "le guestencoke"). In the "Annales" special mention is made of the death, in 1304, of Richard Frend, the head cook of the monastery, and the record seems dictated by an affectionate recollection of the eminent services of the deceased. The manors of St. John's in Bedwardine and St. Michael's in Bedwardine were appropriated to supply the table of the monks with provisions, and Hemingus informs us that the income of the cellarer of Worcester monastery was derived in this way :—

"In septimana (each week) he shall receive ten sextaries of fruit, ten lots of cabbage or green stuff, fish, and cheese, four sextaries of oats, and one mark of silver, for the kitchen; and 600 loaves to the servants; and on the feast of St. Martin he shall give to the firmarer 52 good pigs (lij porcos valentes totidem horas ad occidendum, vel totidem horas). On the Nativity of our LORD shall be given by each manor one sextary each of fruit, green stuff, and oats, two hawks, five hens, two hundred eggs, and one penny for butter. At Easter a

similar allowance, but instead of two hawks or fowls one lamb. On Assumption and St. Mary's day the same as on the Nativity. In Quadragesima, instead of cheese, let there be given each week one sextary of honey. For fish bought in Quadragesima, of each hide of land shall be given 12*d.* and 4*d.* for hiring. For milk in the kitchen, and for guests' horse-meat, Tidbertun, Lippard, and Herdewick. For cups and utensils, the houses and possessions we have in the city. For wood bought, Hinewica major and minor and Wantesford and Wrbenhalle; and for the 'præpositi (overseers or bailiffs?) qui firmant,' in feast of St. Martin 12*s.*, and in the third week of Easter also 12*s.*, and for the aforesaid mark of silver each week 4*d.* Of Clive and Hallow and Grimley and Fepsintun, the third part of the tithe. Of Grimley and Hallow and Broadwas* wood for four boats for servants 'in aula in natale Domini.' Of Grimley and Broadwas a hundred plates or dishes (discos) at Christmas and also at the feast of St. Mary. Of Stoke and Wlfwarde (Wolverley) two fat cows, to be killed for the feast of St. Mary. For the charity of the brethren, of 12 manors, viz., Lindridge, Newnham, Broadwas, Grimley, Cropthorne, Overbury, Teddington, Scepwast (Shipston?), Blackwell, Sedgeberrow, Cleeve, Alveston, give 12 sextaries of honey, of Wolverley two, of Horsley two, of Dunhampstead two, of Stockton two, of the half hide at Scepwast one sextary of honey, and of the above-written mark of silver each week 4*d.* Also the mill at Salwarpe, and from the gift of Bishop Samson and Bishop Teowald, the tithe of wine and the third part of Fladbury, Ripple, and Saltmarsh. And there are for the servants five fisheries and a half, viz., Etsieswera, which Walter Puher gave to us; second, Scadwella; third, at Hallow; fourth, at Bevereburna (Barbourne); fifth, at Beverie; and a half at Grimley. From the mills of Cleeve 40 sticks of eels, from Herfort (Harvington) 30, Cropthorne 30, Salwarpe 30. From the gift of Bishop Teolwold, 20*s.* at Pentecost, for the charity of the brethren in their processions."

* The leaseholder of Broadwas had also to yield a good fat boar at the feast of All Saints.

It required the full extent of this supply, supplemented by the enormous gifts arriving at certain periods from the tenantry and neighbours, to satisfy the necessities and maintain the hospitalities of an establishment lying in the principal highway between England and Wales—in a city where was the only bridge over the Severn between Gloucester and Bridgnorth. Added to which, as has been shown, royalty and nobility frequently came this way, and purveyance was to be made. A specimen of composition made for Edward IV. and his "family" has already been given (page 110.) Towards the close of the fifteenth century (the year not named) appears a list of things provided for Henry VII., his queen, Prince Arthur, and the Countess of Richmond, the king's mother, when they visited Worcester, thus:—

"The p'vysyon for our sov'ayn lorde the kinge: bred, viij*li.*; flowre, xl*s.* viij*d.*; thre and halfe tunns ale c*s.*; one tun wyne, x*li.*; spyce, pepur, saforn, clowse, masye, synomond, gyngyr, xij p'd small reysons, viij p'ds datys, sugyr, waxe; bevys, lx*s.*; xx motons, xl*s.*; iij dozen capons, ij capons of grese for ye kinge ij*s.* viij*d.*; iij dozen chyckynse, iij signettys, ij pekoks, iij feysons, w't a desen and a halff of lappwyngs, plovers, iiij harnesowys (herons), couple of connyngs (rabbits), viij dozen pegynse (pigeons), ccccc eggys, iiij*s.*; vi q'ts buttur, xij*d.*; xx galons mylke, xx*d.*; ij q'ts salte, ix*s.* iiij*d.*; xij loodys wood, xxx dysen of horsebred, xxx*s.*; vi qrt'rs ots, iiij loode hey, xxvi*s.* viij*d.*; erthynn potts, fyve and halff desen, iiij*s.* vi*d.*; iij dysen (covereys?) iij doz. cuppys, iij lode lytter, stone of candylls, one quarte coolys, one lynyn cloth, in rewardys by my

lord, xi*li.* vij*s.*; in rewardes by the celerar, cv*s.* vi*d.*; in mustart, xv*d.*; vynegur, xvi*d.*; sum tot. lxij*li.* ij*s.* v*d.*"

This royal visit was thus alluded to many years afterwards in Bellu's oration to Queen Elizabeth, when her majesty visited Worcester:—

"So pleased it that seconde Solomon your highness' grandfather, in his kinglie personne, together with ye quene his wyfe, the countesse of Rychmond his moder, and prince Arthure, your majesties derest unkle, to visit this cittie, where, duringe ye tyme of his abode, it plesed his highnesse soe thankfullie to accepte of the pore good will and loyal affeccon of ye cyttizens, as at this daye ther remayne one register of record amongst sundrie comfortable speechys witnessinge ye same."

With reference to purveyances for royalty, I may be excused (though slightly wandering from the monastic table), in quoting an old writer of the last century, who says:—

"In antient days, before money was so plenty as it has been of late years, rents and other payments to the king, the bishop, and other great lords, were made in kind, and consumed upon the premises. Our kings kept their Christmas, their Whitsuntide, and other holidays, at Worcester, Gloucester, or some principal town in different parts of the kingdom; at these times and places the business of the nation was often consulted on. Hence arose the tax of 'purveyance,' by which the king had a certain quantity of provisions sent in for his use, either gratis or purchased at his own price. This continued till the 12th of Charles 2nd. The purveyance for Worcestershire in 1666 was as follows:

Oxen,	20; or	composition at £4	a head,	to be paid	June 16.
Muttons,	200; or	ditto	6/8 ditto,	ditto	July 10.
Stirkes,	20; or	ditto	10/- ditto,	ditto	Oct. 8.
Lambs,	150; or	ditto	1/- ditto,	ditto	Aug. 15."

In a loose document I find an account headed thus: "A note for the quenes mat's purviance of poultrie taken 18 Jan. 1597, at Worcester." The village of Kempsey was in this purveyance ordered to provide eighteen pullets, Hartlebury four capons, White Ladies' Aston two capons and four hares, and Claines two dozen capons (paid in money).

But to return to the monastic refectory. Breakfast (jantaculo), and geese eaten thereat on feast days, was a great institution, as at Easter, Advent, Lady-day, Whit-Monday, &c., and regularly recurring disbursements are allowed for —

"Breakfast to the singers at the feast of St. John and to St. M'w in monte (Matthew in the mount)."

"To ye master of ye comon supper for ye O to breakfast, vis. viij*d.*"

"To the family of the lord prior for theyr jantaculo in Advent, xij*d.*"

"Breakfast to conv't on Whit-Monday, ex consuet."

"P'd for syngyng brede for celebrating mass this yere."

"To John Netells for ye singing of his fyrst masse at Wyche, iiij*s.* vi*d.*"

Some of these items require explanation. "For ye O to breakfast" has been elucidated in a previous chapter. A breakfast or supper was given in every convent when a monk said his first mass. A sum of money was paid to him to enable him to feast the brethren. This was called his "ordinatum," and after that time he was allowed a certain sum yearly to find him in apparel. Usually the common

monks received 6*d.* or 12*d.* each from the cellarer at the feast of the Conception, for singing the anthem "O Emanuel," also at the feasts of the Annunciation, Nativity, Purification, and Assumption. As to "singing bread," in old churchwardens' account books we find such entries as these:—"Payd for wine to sing with;" "Payd for bred to sing with" (*i.e.*, to sing mass with): hence it was called "singing bread." At the present day the wafers used in the celebration of mass are known as "altar breads."

The "ludi prioris" (prior's sports) were generally held at Battenhall manor-house. These were sports for the monks on certain feasts. Games and good cheer were abundantly enjoyed for several days, the neighbours were invited, and plays, minstrelsy, and juggling, performed. That such a style of living should become attractive to laymen as well as monks cannot be a source of wonder, and accordingly we find that it gave rise to a system of corrodies, or allowances of diet, which existed at most of the great monasteries. Laymen frequently gave a sum of money to a convent to purchase their daily diet from the conventual kitchen (a superstitious idea of sanctity probably assisting the arrangement), or engaged to bequeath their personal estate to the establishment, at their death, for this consideration. This kind of bread-and-cheese

annuity was popular for a long time. In 1302, the author of the Worcester "Annales" says—

"We sold to Adæ de Piriæ, citizen of Worcester, and Gunnilda his wife, for £50, one monk's loaf, two flasks of the best beer, and one dish of meat or fish, for their lives only."

In 1394, the prior and convent granted to John Sonneburne, rector of Little Comberton, "a loaf of the larger size, another of the sponsable (medium?) size, and a draught of the best beer that the convent drank, every day during his life, the sum of 52*s.* yearly, and a chamber in the priory, decent and suited to his rank, to be repaired and furnished at their expense." The "consideration" for the liberal manner in which the convent was thus turned into a boarding-house is not mentioned. Again, in 1458, Henry VI. writes to Prior Musard and the monastery of Worcester from his manor of Woodstock, respecting Rd. Hartlebury, brother of the preceding prior, who it seems had been allowed meat and drink daily "till of late he hath bin voyded therefro," and the king commands that he should be readmitted to the same alms, "in consideracon of the servyce he hath byn unto us in our warres beyond see, being therein hurt and grevyously maymed, and now in extream necessytie, and consydering that his brother was late y'r fader and governor."

In the records of the monastic feasting, ale is but seldom mentioned, though its consumption must have been enormous. It was not the bright and sparkling beverage of the present day, but was often so thick and full of dregs that the drinker was obliged to filter it through his teeth,—a sweet, glutinous, well spiced liquor, devoid of hops, which were very unpopular for a long time after their introduction. Wormwood, camomile, and other plants, were used as bitter preservatives. In the reign of Henry VI. an information was exhibited against a man for putting "an unwholesome kind of weed called an hopp into his brewing." Nash quotes a couplet—

> "Hops, reformation, bays, and beer,
> Came into England all in one year."

But it is known that hops were grown in Kent as early as 1464. "Carite" was the conventual strong drink; "pocula caritatis" the grace-cups of best liquor after dinner. Cider is not alluded to in the Worcester rolls till a comparatively late period, though we know the beverage was so called in Chaucer's monk's tale, middle of fourteenth century. It probably existed from a very early period under some other name, or as wine. Cheese was bought for the Worcester convent at Bridgnorth fair in the time of Henry VII. Mustard was in great demand,

as strength and pungency of flavour were most desired in the condiments of those days. Sometimes the Worcester convent spent 60*s.* a year (equal to £40 of our money) in mustard alone! Honey was extensively used for sweetening, but at length was to a great extent superseded by sugar, which was classed with the spices. Treacle, too, seems to have been used with the bread:—

"Et p' molacoe eiusdem panis."

The usual hour of dining in monasteries was at eleven. At Durham, at that hour, a bell gave warning to the monks to wash and dine, and the closets and cupboards containing the towels were on either side of the frater-house door. The lavatory in Worcester cloisters still remains, near the steps leading to the refectory, and in the time of Henry VII. appears an item relative to the purchase of five towels:—

"Et p' quinq. manutergiis* emp. xv*d.*"

When monks and common tables had been swept away, the hospitalities and audits of deans and chapters remind us of the more ancient magnificence of the conventual establishment.

* This word, Mr. Walcott informs me, being on one occasion misread, gave rise to an amusing error with regard to one of the alleys of Norwich cloisters, till Mr. Harrod read "manutergia" for "maritagia."

Not only were wine and sugar-loaves presented to the judges of assize, and the nicest sweetmeats to my Lady Coventry or any other distinguished visitor who might chance to appear at the Guesten-hall table, but the poor hangers-on without the door and the prisoners in the neighbouring gaol (then on the site of the old castle, just south of the cathedral) were regularly remembered and distribution made to them from many a half-finished dish, and peas and oatmeal bought to make them broth from the fragments of meat left. Indeed this kindly consideration for the prisoners was at length carried to such an extent that it was found necessary to check the "commerce" between the gaol and the cathedral brewhouse, thus:—

"Item, that there be no comerce between the brewhouse of the cathedral church and the comon goyle, by dore, window, or anie other devise, except it be by a hole of six inches square and no more, made thorough the wall of the said brewhouse and by a trunk of wood or stone therein put to pour out any liquor out of the said brewhouse into any vessel within the precincts of the said goyle, and the treasurer and receiver do see this speedily executed."

Hospitality to tenants, friends, and neighbours, was always a leading attribute of the capitular body, whose audits at length involved such an expenditure as to lead to the following chapter order in 1593:—

"It is decreed that the charges of the audit shall be

borne by the church so that the same exceed not the sum of forty marks over and besides the ordinary provision of old accustomed and paid unto the receiver and others, all which now shall be converted to the publique use for the audit, and one fatt ox and six fatt wethers, and all the tenants' gifts given at that time. And if any treasurer shall hereafter make, request, or demand, for any further allowance from the church, that then he that shall make such request for any further allowance shall forfeit five marks *(nom. pene)* and the same to be deducted forth of his stipend by the next treasurer and divided amongst the dean and prebends for the time being without any remission."

The peculiar sumptuousness of the audits seems to have been most conspicuous after the restoration of Charles II., when Mr. Henry Roper and Mr. Harry Green were cooks and caterers and Mr. Oley treasurer. From a long list of good things provided for the feast in 1662 I take a few only of the more prominent articles: a dozen and half of "marybones," 5*s.* 8*d.*; "paid for brawne and all the charge of him," £2. 8*s.*; samphire, 4*d.*; twenty-seven stone of beef, £3. 13*s.* 3*d.*; two sheep, £2; one veal, £1; one pork, 14*s.*; seventy-eight "beate of coks and partrige," £3. 16*s.*; "brace of pheysants, 4*s.* 8*d.*; foure quist, 1*s.* 2*d.*; a carpe, 1*s.*; five large pierches, fourteen smaller, and two tenches, 4*s.* 6*d.*; two sammons, £1. 4*s.*; fourteen yeels and three dusson of flownders, 7*s.* 4*d.*; one dusson of pierche and a greene fish, 2*s.* 6*d.*; lemins and orringies, 2*s.* 8*d.*; for barbaryes, 6*d.*; a lyng and haberdine, 8*s.* 3*d.*; one keg of sturgin,

16*s.*; six lb. of sosingers, 3*s.*" Then there were olives, capers, anchovies, spices, butter (by the quart, 2*s.*), orange flower water, and a pint of rosewater 1*s.* (was this for the fingers or for flavouring dishes?) sack, red wine, and cider, tobacco and pipes, and the "black-guard" were hired at 6*d.* a day each to take care of the pots and dishes and cooking utensils. A man was sent round the city to invite gentlemen to "assist" at the feast, and a man and horse was posted about the county to invite "Lord Coventry, Sir Rowland Berkeley, Simonds of Aston, Litleton of Naunton, Sir John Pakington, Pitt of Hampton, Vernon of Hanbury, Greesley of S. Stoke, Jackson of Powick, John Winford, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Bromlye, Mr. Jefris, Sir Ralph Clare, and Mr. Robison."

Towards the provision for the said audits, Sir Ed. Sebright, for the free warren of hawks, hawking, hunting, fishing, and fowling, in the manor of Wolverley, was to forward two brace of partridges and one brace of cocks; Sir W. Russell, of Strensham, three pheasants and six partridges; and other gentlemen in similar proportion; tenants' gifts were numerous; boar's head and spiced wine never failed to grace the board, and a supply of venison from Hartlebury was kept up for ages, until Bishop Pepys declined any longer to keep deer, and made a present of the entire herd to the queen. The

minstrels of the middle age had given way to the fiddler, and we hear no more of jugglers. Bonfires were lit in the College-green, and fireworks discharged there in memory of the happy frustration of "the plot." "Morning draughts" were frequently had, as a consequence of the night's drinking; and altogether the expenditure under the head of audits became so considerable that it was thought necessary to order that these expenses should be kept under £50 until the church was out of debt, there being at that time a large outlay on the restoration of the edifice after the civil wars. Among the good things had and consumed at the audit of 1665 were: "neats' tongs and marybones, capons and sossiges, hens and baken, sammons, yeeles, pyke, flounders and gugens, froyd (fried?) a dish of larkes, a dish trouts boyld, one carpe, one dish of pyes, one pooden, one florentine," &c. A hogshead of cider then cost £1. 14*s.*, while ditto of strong beer was but £1. 4*s.* Bottled cider was sold at 6*d.* a bottle in 1720 (equal to 3*s.* of present money), and red port was then first named as such at 17*s.* a dozen, bottles included. Sherry is not mentioned, but in the Worcester corporation accounts it first appears in 1666, owing perhaps to the then recent treaty with Portugal. The auditors of the dean and chapter took their supper and wine at that ancient hostelry the Talbot, near the cathedral, or at the Globe.

For the audit of 1724, among the provisions were "brawn, beef and turnips, two soops, two dishes pyes, one dish mince pyes to ye boys, a dish of geese and aple sause, fish, chine and turkey, stude beef, dish of uder and tongues, one dish bacon, fowl, tongues, marrowbones, and greenes, a marrow pudding, Scotch collops, wild fowl, tarts and custards, one dish of poots, stirgon, two dishes cilly-bubs and jelleys, dried tongs, frute, and peckets, salt fish, shoulder of veal stuft, and green salet," and the summary of expenditure was £42. 18*s.* 8*d.* Two barrels of pickled oysters were bought in 1736 for 2*s.* 4*d.*; and in 1751 salmon was 1*s.* 8*d.* a lb. (equal to 5*s.* now); hares, 2*s.* 6*d.* each; perch, 1*s.* 3*d.* a lb.; codfish, 6*d.*; eels at 10*d.* (stated in the bill to be a very high price); fresh butter, 6*d.*; six barrels of London oysters, £1. 10*s.*; cheese, 3*d.* a lb.; a cocoa-nut cup, mounted with silver, was bought for the audit, price £3. 7*s.*; knives, forks, and pewter, were hired, and frequent charges made for plates that had been accidentally melted. The chimney was swept at a cost of half-a-crown, at each audit, and a like sum to the porter for summoning the corporation and clergy to the feast. In 1771 the audit bill included baked pears, "puddings for the boys," swans' eggs, calves' feet, calves' head with the skin on, rabbits, lamperns, codfish, madeira, rum, brandy, cider, port, lemons,

pipes, tobacco, Durham mustard, anchovies, sturgeon, vegetables as numerous as in the present day, coffee, tea, biscuits, &c.

It was the custom of the dean and chapter, yearly, on St. Catherine's day (Nov. 25), being the last of their annual audit, to distribute among the inhabitants of the precincts a rich compound of wine, spices, &c., which was specially prepared for the occasion. At the Worcester congress of the Archæological Association, in August, 1848, the Very Rev. the Dean, in reply to a question from Lord Conyngham, said that this custom was kept up to that time. This was probably a relic of the ancient Worcestershire custom of "catherning." St. Catherine being the patroness of spinsters, young people made merry on her day with apples and beer, roasting apples on a string till they dropped into a large bowl of spiced ale, which was then called "lamb's wool."

Chapter VI.

THE CATHEDRAL.

"It was a pile of simplest masonry,
With narrow windows and vast buttresses,
Built to endure the shocks of time and chance,
Yet showing many a rent, as well it might,
Warred on for ever by the elements."

TO give the history or an architectural description of the fabric of the cathedral would be inconsistent with the design and limits of the present work, first, because that subject would alone demand a volume; secondly, it having already been done by previous writers, and recently completed and corrected by the master hand of Professor Willis; and thirdly, the present undertaking having for its scope and tendency the domestic life and discipline of the monks and their successors, rather than mere chronological or architectural details already well known and re-

peatedly printed. A few descriptive sentences only will therefore be necessary for the information of those who are unacquainted with the history of the structure, and also to render intelligible the new materials now for the first time acquired.

The church and monastery of St. Mary, built by St. Oswald in 983 (near the cathedral of St. Peter, which had for three centuries previously been served by secular canons or married presbyters, who were at length supplanted by Oswald's monks, when St. Peter's was neglected and fell into ruins), remained till Hardicanute's Danish army, in revenge for the men of Worcester having killed two of the king's tax collectors, is said to have burnt down the city and the cathedral. The records of that event are however so meagre as to give no account of which of the churches was burnt; but probably both these fabrics and the monastic buildings were partially if not entirely destroyed, and temporary repairs sufficed till 1084, when Bishop Wulstan laid the foundation of his new church. It is believed that no portion of Oswald's work now remains, for although until within a recent period the present crypt, it was thought, might have been assigned to the Saxon period, the researches of eminent men who have spent their lives in the investigation of styles and dates, and in the comparison of examples throughout the Christian world, have decidedly assumed

the crypt to be Wulstan's work. The east end of the crypt has been found to be apsidal, no doubt corresponding with the limits of the ambulatory of the structure above prior to its extension eastward by the Early English builders. The western extremity of the building had probably the same limit as at present, the two westernmost bays of the nave being late Norman or transitional work. Several fires and the fall of "the new tower" had more or less damaged Wulstan's edifice, which was evidently repaired from time to time in the twelfth century, of one of which repairs or restorations the said two bays are a fragment, being of too late a style for Wulstan's work. From the great fire of 1202 the cathedral arose in renovated splendour under the care of Bishop Sylvester, and in 1218 was consecrated anew in the presence of King Henry III. (a frequent visitor at Worcester) and a great assembly of nobility, bishops, abbots, and knights. The funds derived from the offerings at Wulstan's shrine and the patronage of King John contributed greatly to this restoration. Bishop Blois in 1224 commenced "the new work of the front" (novum opus frontis), by some writers thought to be the western front of the nave; Professor Willis however thinks it refers to the eastern front, and the word "frons" can be shown by many examples to have been employed for either end of the build-

ing. Although the Early English character of the east end of the cathedral agrees with the period of Bishop Blois, we are puzzled to know why the building should have been in want of a new east end within six years after the great restoration and reconsecration under Bishop Sylvester. Nevertheless it is clear that the "novum opus" could not refer to the west front of the nave, that work being, as already indicated, of a transitional Norman character and therefore nearly three quarters of a century older than the time of Bishop Blois, and it is equally evident that either to Sylvester or Blois we owe the extension of the cathedral eastward by the addition of the present Lady chapel. May not the first of those bishops have constructed the new choir which in 1218 was consecrated, and his successor have added the Lady chapel and its aisles in 1224? The writer of the "Annales" uses the term "face (facies) of the cathedral" as applying to the eastern end when he says (1292):—

"In the ides of June the face of the cathedral was adorned by Nicholas, the sacrist, by placing boards (tabulas) on both sides of the image of the Mother of GOD, containing a very beautiful collection of figures or images—

"Lux magis est clara quo major ponitur ara,
Et stat in altari frons sine fronte pari."

[Where the high altar is placed the light is more clear,
And on the altar stands a frontal without a peer.]

The frontal here seems to have formed a table or reredos of images at the back of the altar. There was usually a reredos full of jewels and beautiful work with a canopy over the altar, curtains to hide the priest on certain occasions, and beams ornamented at the great feasts with reliquaries of ivory, silver, &c. Over the altar was not unfrequently a picture — sometimes of the last judgment. At Hereford there is still preserved a work of extraordinary interest, being a mappa mundi, or map of the world, with the final judgment. This is of the date of the thirteenth century, and is supposed to have adorned some altar in that cathedral. In 1465 a charge was made in a Worcester compotus roll for painting four figures of the Virgin in the Lady chapel, eight days' work thereon being put down at 5*s*. There were many altars in Worcester cathedral, each of which had a monk or priest assigned to it, with a fixed salary. The following is a list of the altars, so far as can now be ascertained: 1, the high altar, where the present communion table stands;* 2, St. Oswald's shrine and altar, on the north side of the high altar; 3, St. Wulstan's shrine and altar, on the south side of the high altar (this was not the arrangement in the thirteenth century, for when Bishop Sylvester consecrated the

* In the Norman time the high altar must have been nearer the centre of the present choir.

cathedral he is said to have dedicated the great altar to St. Mary and St. Oswald, and "the other"* to St. Peter and St. Wulstan, thus leaving an uncertainty as to the site of "the other" or "medium" altar, or whether there were more than two in the building, though it is asserted that there were twenty-eight altars in St. Oswald's time; it is probable however that the altar to St. Mary and St. Oswald stood in the Lady chapel, and "the other," or middle altar, where the communion table now stands); 4, there was an altar to St. Peter "in the crypt" in the year 1175, but the word "crypt" might mean aisle; 5, the altar of Holy Cross, near where Bishop Hough's monument now stands in the great north transept; 6, St. Simon and St. Jude's, in the corresponding part of the great south transept; 7, St. Edmund's, also in the south transept, which chapel was said to be "a glorious shrine;" 8, St. John the Baptist's altar was erected against the second pillar from the tower pier on the north side of the nave; 9, Jesus chapel and altar on the north side of the nave, where the font now stands; also the following, the sites of which are not known: 10, St. George's, which chapel was grated with iron and furnished with a great pair of organs; 11, St. Cecilie's; 12, St. Margaret's; 13,

* The "Anglia Sacra" calls this the "medium" or middle altar.

SS. Philip and Jacob; 14, St. Mary Magdalene; 15, St. Nicholas; and 16, St. Thomas. There were altars at the east ends of the aisles to the Lady chapel, also in the upper transepts, in the chapel south of the choir (wherein the steps still remain), and in Prince Arthur's chapel.

In the latter half of the fourteenth century the sacrist placed new stalls in the choir, adorned the pavement of the chapels of St. Thomas and Mary Magdalene, made certain enclosures or screens between the presbytery and the bishop's stall, as also before the altars of Holy Cross and St. Edmund, and caused the board or picture (tabula) at the altar of Holy Cross to be painted; he also enclosed the chapel of the blessed Virgin, made a new pulpit or lectern for the choir, and erected a great west window (necnon magna fenestra in p'te occiden. eccl'ie), the doorway underneath it being then closed, and the present north porch erected in the place of a Norman doorway which had previously existed there. This west window of the nave and the two bays of the building next to it have always been assigned to Bishop Wakefield; I find it so asserted by Godwin and Leland; but, as before shown, the bays are transitional Norman work, and therefore must have been in existence more than two centuries before Wakefield's time; and now, by virtue of an entry in one of the prior's books, the

west window itself has been assigned to the sacrist. Wakefield was bishop at the time, and no doubt did his part toward the work; but here we have an original document accounting for the west window in the time of Wakefield and saying not one word to connect that bishop with the two westernmost bays; thus leaving it to be inferred that this connection was the fanciful work of some after writer, who knew nothing about dates or styles, but supposed that the great window and the bays must go together. The only probable theory with regard to the two bays is this: Wulstan's cathedral being greatly damaged by the fires which occurred in the twelfth century, the nave, or such part of it as required renovation, was rebuilt in the transitional style; this again by subsequent fires was destroyed except the west end, two arches of which were found good enough to be preserved and added to the new work of the nave erected in Wakefield's time. It is far beyond credibility that Wakefield could have built two bays to the nave in a style copied from the twelfth century (this kind of imitation being quite contrary to the practice of middle-age builders), and then erected a north porch in the style of his own time.

There is no exact record of the erection of the nave, unless we adopt the statement of Green (whose authority on such matters is not safe to quote)

that it was the work of De Blois in 1224. From the character and style of the work however it is now believed to be Decorated or fourteenth century. The roof of the north aisle was vaulted by Bishop Cobham (1327), and the south side of the nave is of a later date, with a strong tendency to Perpendicular. It may therefore have been erected in the time of Wakefield, and probably was the work to which allusion is made in the "Ædificiorum Chronologia" copied into one of Prior Moore's books, in which it is stated that in 1372 John Lyndsey, the sacrist, "completed the work at which his predecessors had laboured earnestly, although, when elected to the said office, there was but a small fund in hand for the purpose." Then the erection of the tower would naturally follow, at the junction of the nave with the choir. The same "Chronologia" dates the completion of this tower two years later—namely, in 1374, and the hanging therein of the bells removed from the lead-covered clochium. The smaller bell in the clochium was applied to the use of the clock in the new tower. During the following twelve years the choir and transepts were vaulted, and in 1382 the sacrist erected images of alabaster over the altar of St. Cecilie, near where, after death, he himself lay.

From this period to the reformation there is no record of any changes or restorations in the fabric

of the cathedral, but in Bishop Polton's register (1426) mention is made of forty days' indulgence offered by the bishop of Worcester to the archdeacon of Gloucester to obtain subscriptions towards the repairs of Worcester cathedral; these were probably the ordinary repairs, not effecting any change in the prominent features of the building. Prince Arthur's mortuary chapel was erected in 1504; and not many years afterwards altars, shrines, rood-lofts, images, and some of the painted windows, were swept away, but this change was merely one of readjustment of the church furniture to suit the services of the reformed faith; there was no destruction of the building itself beyond the obliteration of pictures on the walls and those stained windows which were considered superstitious; so that the result of the great reformation was by far less injurious to the fabric of the cathedral than the damage and despoilment occasioned by the troops of Essex in 1642, by Cromwell's soldiers in 1651, and perhaps not less by the general "restoration" and "beautifyings" of the eighteenth century. The arrangement of the choir seems to have been readjusted in 1551, previous to which the choir extended two bays further westward; the old stalls, made in 1397, were then taken down, together with the bishop's seat, and in 1556 the lofty stalls as they remained till recently were

set up, the old miserere seats however being retained, and the choir was enclosed from its aisles and from the nave by means of these canopied stalls and screens of open stone-work glazed—all recently removed. The miserere seats of the monks however fortunately remain, and their curious carvings will be found to illustrate not only Scripture history, but the literature, fables, allegories, costume, social and domestic habits, sports, and employments of the time, as well as the satirical ideas of antagonistic monks and seculars. Many of these carvings were removed to adorn the cornice of the plaster screen which till lately separated the choir from the nave, but they will now be restored. Originally there were figures of mowers and reapers; a swineherd beating down acorns for his pigs; a huntsman sounding his horn; a man with a satchel over his shoulder; a gentleman with a hawk on his fist, and a horse and page; men and angels; a man riding a lion; a butcher slaughtering an ox; a sow with litter of pigs; an angel playing on a lute, another on a violin, a third on a harp; grotesques, birds, and quadrupeds; a crowned lion, with masque on each side; a woman writing, with a huntsman and other figures near; a man digging, and woman with distaff; a wolf in sheep's clothing, saying grace over a sheep's head; Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit, and being expelled; a man sounding a

horn which twines round his body; a man fighting with dragons, his shield bearing the Warwick arms; dragons and lions fighting; combats between knights; a bird with the face of a woman, between a man kneeling, and a bird picking the face of an infant, or the eagle and child; boars, centaurs, sphinxes; Abraham offering his son; an allegorical

[No. 1.]

representation of the idolatry of the Israelites; a child presented before an altar by the parents; and lastly, two subjects of which I am enabled to give a representation,* No. 1 being a culinary subject: an old man seated before a fire, on which a pot is placed, the contents of which he is stirring; a sort of chimney is formed above it; a cat is warming

* From Stanley's Guide to Worcester.

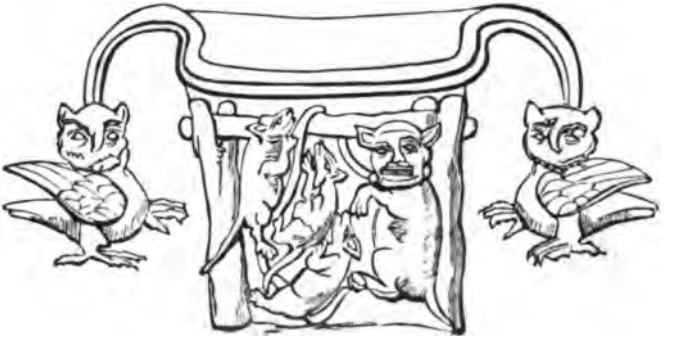
itself at the fire, and two flitches of bacon are hung up. The man has taken off his boots and is warming his feet; his gloves are remarkable for being two-fingered, and all the details of the picture are curious. No. 2 is a naked man, enveloped in a net, riding on a goat, the horn of which he is holding, with a hare or rabbit under his arm. This is probably an alle-

[No. 2.]

gorical subject. There is a figure of a fool riding on a goat on a stall in Gloucester cathedral. Nos. 3 and 4 (from Malvern Priory church) are equally interesting. These stall carvings are second only in interest to the thirteenth century arcade sculptures of the upper transepts and Lady chapel of Worcester cathedral, where will be found a saint or

bishop offering up a cathedral, supposed to refer to the dedication of this building; birds, animals, monsters, masks, and foliage, beautifully carved; the dead rising from their graves, the weighing of souls, the final doom of good and bad, and a variety of other subjects.

[No. 3.]



[THE RATS HANGING THE CAT.—GREAT MALVERN STALLS.]

Abundant details exist of the havoc done in the civil wars, and of the great neglect of the sacred building when it was handed over to the keeping of the Presbyterians. "Divers beautiful windows, wherein the foundation of the church was lively historified with painted glass" were broken in pieces by the troopers of the Earl of Essex, who also destroyed the organs, lopped noses, fingers, and arms, off the monumental statues, kept their horses

and lit their camp fires in the sacred building, rifled the library, records, and evidences, tore up the bibles and service books, and rode about the streets with the surplices and vestments on, besides committing other horrible atrocities in the house of GOD. The estimated value of lead taken from the steeple, the clochium, various portions of the

[No. 4.]

[WOMAN IN BED, ATTENDED BY PHYSICIAN.— GREAT MALVERN STALLS.]

cathedral and chapter-house, and the water pipes from Henwick, amounted to £8,204, besides other damage by "unknown theifes," including the removal of the brazen eagle (lectern) and communion plate, masons' work, iron work, and pavement, damaged, with school-house (refectory) and chapel near the north-west porch, £8,150; total, £16,354.

At the first meeting of the dean and chapter

after the restoration of royalty in 1660 an order was made to borrow £500 "in regard the church is very ruinous and some parts in great danger of falling." A book was specially devoted to an account of the expenditure for these extensive repairs, and the accountant (probably Mr. Oley, the treasurer) thus invokes the Supreme Being at the outset of his onerous task—

"Venite, ædificemus, &c, Nehem. ij., 17. Think upon me for good, &c., Neh. v. 19."

As Mr. Oley figures largely in the work done after the restoration it may here be stated that he was a learned man, was president of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and had published some works; he had suffered for his loyalty during the commonwealth, but seems to have been subsequently well repaid, by holding at one and the same time a prebendal stall of Worcester, the archdeaconry of Ely, and the vicarage of Great Gransden—the latter for more than half a century. He was a great benefactor to that church and parish, built almshouses for the poor, founded a small circulating library of "six godly books for the benefit of poor people that could read English," and gave to the parish six leather buckets to be used in case of fire.

The lead, as before stated, had been everywhere torn from the roofs of the cathedral and prebendal

buildings, no doubt for the purpose of making bullets, as the water-pipes conveying the spring water from Henwick into the cloisters had already been applied, and the admission of rain into the roofs occasioned great damage. The price of lead, owing to its consumption in the wars, and its now extensive requirement for repairs, had risen till it had become almost prohibitory, and the chapter decided on despatching Mr. Oley into Derbyshire to make the best terms he could for as much of that article as was absolutely needed. At Derby the dean and chapter of Worcester had an agent or correspondent in the person of Mr. Glen, who signed himself "your affectionate brother and fellow labourer in the Gospel," and who was probably one of the prebends, having a living or residence in Derbyshire, as the name of G. Glen appears on the list of Worcester prebends at that time. From him they received information that lead was £16. 10*s.* a "fodder"*—"the highest rate it hath been at in man's memory." Mr. Oley and the plumber, Jos. Clarke, set out "to Darbie to buy leade" in the autumn of 1660, Clarke receiving for wages 18*d.* per diem. They bought of Henry Wigley, yeoman of Matlock, on the 20th of September, twenty fother of lead, to be delivered at Derby within two months, at a cost of £322. 10*s.* The carrier, it seems, had a

* About a ton.

weak cart, which broke down under the great weight and the rutty roads, and much delay was experienced in land carriage to the Severn at Bewdley, which cost no less than £43. 6*s.* 8*d.* (or nearly £300 of our present money) and £2. 10*s.* for water carriage, the dean and chapter meanwhile being compelled to pay "Goodwife Warner for three thousand of tiles used towards covering ye roofe of the upper south aisle beyond the quire £2. 10*s.*," and "Paid the same day for 475 foot of oaken boards imployd in skirting the roofe where the lead had been stolen away, £2. 12*s.* 3*d.*" Messrs. Oley and Clarke's personal expenses on the journey amounted to only £1. 15*s.* Mr. Glen wrote on the 17th of July following for a little indulgence in the carriage of the lead (probably this was a second order) on account of the labouring people in Derbyshire "being now in the heate of hay harvest, which the next week will be well passed over." He adds, "You may everie week write to me by one Charles White, of Stourbridge, who keepeth Worcester market on the Saturday, and seldom faileth to be at my neighbour towne Uttoxeter on the Wednesday, and lyeth at the Golden Crosse." In the same year, 1660-1, James Collins the joiner was sent to Gloucester and Hereford "to inform himself of ye manner of ye stawles and seating in their quires, the better to p'ceed in ordering ours." John Atkinson, painter, brought in a bill—

"For wryting in gold and oyle worke in the upper end of ye quire, £1.

"For the red barrs in the quire, 3*s*.

"For two doors in the quire, 2*s*.

"For colouring the wanscott in ye quire behind the monuments, 2*s*.

"For the king's armes, and writinge over them in gold worke, £1.

"For makinge cleane the armes in the organ lofte, putting in a new grounde and vernishing of it, 3*s*. 6*d*."

Wm. Bissell gilds a bason, two flagons, and two candlesticks; and a great reading desk in the quire is made by Messrs. Colins and Staunton. Timber was had from the manors of Ankerdine, Berrow, Eymore, and Overberrow, Mr. Posthumus Pitcher receiving compensation to the extent of £10 "in lieu of charges to preserve the timber of ye Berrow from cutting downe in the bad time of sequestration and spoile." A long correspondence took place between Mr. Oley and "my virtuous and much esteemed Mrs. Pitcher, at Berrow, in ye parish of Cradley," as to cutting down timber on that estate. She seems to have held a lease from the dean and chapter, and in one of Mr. Oley's letters to her he says:—

"I have given order to the carpenter, Henry Richards, bearer hereof, to keepe his axe from the greate trees near your house, and to seeke out for one special great one for the chapter-house (the centre of all the timber work upon the roof)—I say to seeke it out elsewhere in ye wood at further distance. This wood desired is not to sell nor to adorne

ye church but to repayre the chapter-house and cloysters, whereon there is not left one inch of wood, so deplorable be the ruines of our late reformers. You must not think much to yeild in poynt of right (suppose it was yours intire) to so greate necessitie, arising both from scarcity of timber elsewhere and from the ruines."

One Pritchard also writes to Mr. Oley for more money if he is to go on hewing more timber, and complaining that he got nothing out of the work, and had been paying money from his own pocket, concluding with a desire to know "who told you that lye that I give or send timber to Malvern?" James Collins and G. Staunton made the new seats in the choir and the bishop's seat for £70, "old Drew" received 4*s.* 6*d.* for making a door into the chapter-house, Mr. Pilkington glazed the great east window for 17*s.*, the king's arms in stone were set up "at west dore of ye quire" by Stephen Baldwyn for £10, Callow the mason erected two buttresses in the cloister court for £9. 5*s.*, and Phil. Gory whitewashed a portion of the church, dug holes above the cloisters, and at the same time the roof of the chapter-house was raised, during which work Robert Prior, one of the workmen, hurt his shoulder and was put under the care of Mr. Marshall, chirurgeon, at a cost of 10*s.*

The first year's (or fifteen months) expenditure was £1,507. 13*s.* 2*d.*; this however included certain compensation allowances and "extraordinarie

charges occasioned by the warres," as stated elsewhere.

In 1161-2 occurs the following:—

"Note yt here Nov. 29 Mr. Oley went a great journey to his living in Huntingdonshire and to Cambridge and soe into Yorkshire about his own occasions (which he had layd aside 14 months to attend repairs of ye church), and he also went to Thornton in Yorkshire, Warton in Lancashire, about the church business, and came back by Darby and bought 20 foth'r of lead for ye church, and returned upon Lady-day, 1662, in which space Mr. Dean Warmstrey and Mr. Th. Taylor managed ye reparation."

The account for this year's lead was thus:—

"Paid Mr. John Hitchinson of Hopton near Workesworth (Darbysh.) merchant burner for 20 fother of ledd, £312. 10*s*.
Paid Mr. Oley in a jorney to buy ye lead, £1. 18*s*.
Given the smelters to refine it well, 2*s*. 6*d*.
To Jethro Thornton, inkeep'r of Darby, for his care about the former 20 fother and this latter 20 fother, 5*s*. 6*d*.
Spent by Mr. Oley and his servant in going to pay £312 at Burton upon Trent because he could not pay it at London, £1. 11*s*.
For canvas baggs to carry ye £312.—3*s*. 3*d*.
Carriage to Bewdley, £40.
From Bewdley to Worcester, £2. 10*s*."

Stone was obtained from Ombersley, Bredon, and Postlip. The "articles for stone" between Mr. Oley and Walter Croft and T. Tolley, stone breakers of Ombersley, were that they covenanted to "deliver 20 tons of the best sort of Ombersley stone,

fit for the building of a buttress or any other church walling, at the College slip (Severn bank, near the cathedral) or other place that shall be appointed, at 2*s.* 4*d.* per ton, and 10*d.* or 11*d.* a ton for carriage, also certain stone for finishing three sides of the cloisters," at 2*s.* 6*d.* and carriage. Besides the Worcester masons were some from Gloucester and Northamptonshire. It is curious here to note that masons, carpenters, and other artisans, received a small payment of money "in earnest" when they were engaged, and a gift at parting, usually a shilling. The Gloucester masons, who were employed on the great east window,* had but one penny.† Hair-cloth for rubbing the marble pillars was used, but whitewashing seems to have been the order of the day, "old Drew" receiving 1*s.* a day for four and a half days' work in whiting Jesus chapel in the north aisle of the nave.‡ So minute are the accounts that even the

* It is not stated whether this was a repair or a renovation of the old window. In Habingdon's MS. is an allusion to the east window of the cathedral, as consisting of "nine stately raysed panes."

† The prior and convent of Durham made an indenture with John Bell, mason, whereby he was sworn to serve them well and truly in his science of masonry during his life; "to do all their works of masonry with imagery after the wit and cunning given to him of ALMIGHTY GOD," to keep their secrets and be buxom to them, and to receive ten marks and 10*s.* a year, a house to live in, a garment, to have an apprentice, and to be pensioned when unable to carry on his work.

‡ From this it appears that the labourers of those days were not at all more actively inclined than at the present time.

whitewashing of the posts near the east window for the sum of 8*d.* is mentioned. Taking down the broken pinnacles and the rotten battlements on the south side of the church, at the west end, "part of which had fallen in the last two winters and broken the leads over the library," was among the work done this year, in the course of which "Nixon's son fell out of a cradle in the south aisle and was killed, and Jelly's son also fell out." Three chirurgeons were called in, whose fees amounted to £6. 5*s.* The sum spent on the cathedral in Mr. Oley's second year of office was £1,303. 14*s.* 5*d.*, and a large outlay was incurred after this, for one of the replies made to the bishop's "articles of enquiry" a few years later was as follows:—

"Since his Majesty's restoration above £6,000 has been spent in reparation of the church, and we do yearly make considerable progress, as we are able, towards perfecting what is unfinished."

Taking into account the different value of money this expenditure could have been little short of £30,000, estimated in our present coin, so that Professor Willis is not quite correct when he says that "at the restoration little appears to have been done except cleansing the church and repairing and concealing the mutilations and wanton mischief of the Puritans." To provide in part for this heavy expenditure the king assigned the im-

proved rents of certain impropriations belonging to the cathedral:—

"And we order that you employ the benefit of all donations meant for that end only to that use continually, and also that you keep up the impropriations demised by the late committee at the improved rents and employ them upon the repairs of the cathedral only, unless you can make it appear that the present exigent of the church will be better satisfied by taking fines of some of them."

In 1664, Thomas Swinfin writes to one of the prebendaries, complaining that, having executed his order for the exchange of some lead with Mr. Hill, and laying the same for his use, "the plumbers of the city have indicted me, and likewise process granted out to take me and carry me away to goole, which if executed will prove my ruing, having no person to depend upon to stand by me but yourself, who was pleased to make me a promise thereof. My prosecutor is John Greenbanke of Worcester." Swinfin had probably infracted some of the rules of the guild, or trading company. The result of his appeal to the prebendary does not appear.

There is mention made of a melting house near the cathedral, and probably this was a house used for the melting of lead.

The work of restoration and refitting occupied several years. At one time six labourers were employed in cleansing the vault (crypt) under the choir, and casting out filth from over the north

aisle, where several chambers had been inhabited. Doors were made to the seats in the choir, and the vergers were ordered to have the keeping of them, "for the more orderly and decent sitting and kneeling of the persons therein;" mats were placed for the gentlewomen's seats at the west end (nave?) of the church, and other works done.

With regard to the appearance of the structure about this time, Dugdale represents the north aisle as embattled from one end to the other, but not on the upper story; the tower was also embattled, having for pinnacles little pyramidal spirets; similar spirets surmounted the buttresses and other parts of the building, and those of the transepts stood on square bases, ornamented with round-headed arcade work; the windows were generally drawn as round-headed, but this was probably an error of the draftsman. There were then no flying buttresses flanking the great east window; these are supposed to have been put up by Wilkinson about 1750, and again destroyed in the great repairs of 1860-66.

For many years after 1672 nothing further seems to have been done in the way of repair; indeed in 1694 the dean and chapter made an order prohibiting any one from employing workmen in the repairs of the cathedral (as it appears had then been done) except by order of the treasurer, with the advice of the dean or sub-dean, unless upon emergency in

the treasurer's absence. In reply to the bishop's articles of inquiry in 1702 the dean and chapter reported the fabric of the cathedral to be in good order except a part of the roof, which they had intended to repair, but were advised to suspend the work, and except also some of the pinnacles which they then gave order to be viewed, with regard to any danger arising from their being blown down in case of high wind. They likewise gave instructions for the church to be cleaned and whited, and also to be swept every Saturday and Monday morning. Green states that in 1712 substantial repairs and alterations were effected, which occupied three years and cost £7,000, to assure the stability of the structure and to obliterate the "ravages of the grand rebellion." The ravages of the civil wars however had been mainly obliterated long before. Part of this expense, he says, was supplied by government. Some of the outer walls were then cased, the pinnacles of the tower erected, an Italian pillar and arches put up in the interior of the south-east transept to support it (but now fortunately swept away); the erection of a wall between the two pillars north of the communion table, one of which pillars was considerably out of the perpendicular; the first pier from the tower pier on the north of the choir was cased in an extraordinary form, having new caps in imitation of the general forms of the

old foliage, and its base fortified by gigantic consoles of the Italian form, and in a kind of tulip shape. This pier was probably in a state of threatening ruin, like its opposite pier on the south side. Tall spires were built about this time, and the sacrist's lodging against the west end of the north aisle of the choir was taken down. This is mainly on the authority of Green, but I have found in the records nothing to corroborate it beyond the fact that in 1713-14 pecuniary difficulties seem to have beset the work of restoration, as appears by the following entry:—

"Whereas the sum of above £7,000 hath been already spent* on necessary repairs of the cathedral church, which was very much decayed and defaced, and several parts of the walls and roof of it extremely ruinous and in great danger of falling, the revenues not being equal to this outlay, we find it necessary to borrow the sum of £940, and further sums being required to repair several parts of the church which still continue ruinous," &c.

An order was made that certain lands on the banks of the Severn should be security for the sums "taken up." Soon afterwards another order appeared—

"That the office of surveyor of the works belonging to this church be suspended till the chapter shall think fit to revive it, and that the surveyor of the said works be desired to give in an account of what stores or materials of any

* It does not state whether that sum had been recently spent, or whether (as I suspect was the case) it was the total which the works had cost since the restoration of Charles II.

sort he or any other person have in their hands belonging to the church, particularly what is become of the old timber taken off the roof of the church. It is not designed that the order about repairs do extend to the carpenters' work which is now to be done about the great tower, nor to any sudden damage which requires present care, provided the dean or canon giving orders to repair such damage do give it to the workmen under his hand in writing; nor to extend to hinder the treasurer from doing small repairs, provided the charge of such repairs does not amount to above £20 in the whole year."

A necessity for extensive repairs now became apparent, and Thomas Wilkinson, mason (father of N. Wilkinson who afterwards built the beautiful spire of St. Andrew's, still remaining an admired ornament of the city), first appeared in connection with the cathedral in 1726, when the roof of the south cross aisle (probably only the timber work) was taken down and a new one framed and set up, the measure of which was 5,909 feet, at 16*s.* per hundred or square. The amount of the bills paid that year to John Snead, carpenter, to the plumber, and to Wilkinson, was £431. 15*s.* 7*d.*; also "paid to James Dogharty, for painting the dial in the new window, 5*s.*" Two years afterwards a similar new timber roofing was set up over the choir, then a new roof over the eastern cross-aisles (transepts), and thence to the end of the church, the latter costing nearly £1,000. In 1736 "a new wall behind ye choir" is mentioned as

paid for to the late T. Wilkinson, who died that year and was buried in St. Peter's church. His son Nathaniel then succeeded as mason or architect to the cathedral, and in 1745 his bill for stone work done to the building was £506. 19*s*. This bill was beautifully written, and is by no means characteristic of a man who feared to submit his accounts to the inspection of an attorney, with which the vestry of his native parish, St. Peter's, threatened him in 1750. In this last-mentioned year Mr. Wilkinson procured Painswick stone to pave the cathedral, and £456 was spent on the building, all grave-stones and other memorials being removed from the pavement. Previous to the selection of this paving stone, workmen had been sent "to take a view of the pavement of the cathedral church of Gloucester, which consists of a beautiful white stone dug out of the quarries at Painswick, and is firm, without retaining any moisture of the air in damp weather on its surface, and may probably be conveyed to Worcester by water at a moderate expense." It was also ordered—

"That Mr. Kean or some other skilful architect be applied to for a draught of a proper ornamental portico in the Gothick style in order to be erected over the great gate of the cathedral instead of a mean deformed covering now over the gate falling into ruins."

Whether this order referred to Edgar Tower,

which was always called the great gate, or to the north porch of the cathedral, or to the "grates," a gate-house separating the south end of High-street from the churchyard, does not appear, but the latter is the most probable.

The great repairs commencing in 1748 occupied eight years, under Deans Martin and Waugh, during which the north end of the great north transept was rebuilt, with its window and spires, by Wilkinson, and the font and pulpit were subsequently removed to their present sites. The font cost £24. 11*s*., and was furnished by Mr. P. Hoare, statuary, of Bath; but it is hoped that "the elegant simplicity" (as Green terms it) of this production will soon give way to something more worthy of the building and the uses to which it is applied. The ancient font had stood at the second pillar nearly opposite the upper entrance from the cloister into the south aisle; it was of black marble, with this inscription:—

> "Hic fons est vitæ,
> Mundandi quicunque venite.
> Suscipit ista reos,
> Et parit unda deos."

The choir and its aisles were also newly paved at the above date. During the period of these repairs the cathedral was necessarily closed, and extra Divine service was performed in St. Michael's

church, for which the Rev. Mr. Taylor, the minister of that church, was paid by the dean and chapter. A fire broke out in the cathedral while the restoration was going on, but does not seem to have occasioned much damage. In connection with these works a model of the building was made in 1756, which cost 10*s.* 6*d.* The great west window was erected in 1789, to commemorate the visit of George III. and his queen to the musical festival of the preceding year, on which occasion their majesties were seated in a magnificent gallery erected just beneath that window. Mr. Johnson was then the architect (Mr. Wilkinson had died in 1764), and his plan of a stained glass border to the said window, at a cost of £30, was adopted. The work was very poor, as might be expected from the state of art at that period, and the window has at length given place to a handsome one in the Decorated style, recently inserted by Mr. Perkins, the present cathedral architect. It was under the great west window that the principal citizens had sat to hear sermons ever since the demolition of the preaching cross in the churchyard by the Puritans. They sat on a bench covered with arras cloth; the bishop, dean, and prebends, on the south side, the two former on chairs and the latter on stone benches covered with blue cloth. The stone pulpit, the date of which is late in the fifteenth or early in

the sixteenth century, was then affixed to the second pillar from the west end of the nave on the north side, the bishop's seat being just opposite, until the whole was removed as above-named. The bishop's (Consistory) Court was at the bottom of the south aisle of the nave until 1796, when it was removed to the east end of the Lady chapel.

In 1791 the lead covering the timber roof over the nave was reported to be so much out of order that quantities of rain penetrated through the stone arches to the pavement of the church. Morton the carpenter and Wainwright the plumber were ordered to inspect, and it was recommended to substitute slate for lead, slate having then been tried with success at the cathedrals of York and Lichfield. Westmoreland or patent slate was purchased from Mr. Wilson, of Burton-on-Trent, and timber was procured from the cathedral estates; the lead over the whole of the eastern part of the cathedral roof, from the tower, was removed and slating substituted in 1796. The great east window was erected in 1792, but it is not stated how the necessity arose for the erection of a window which appears to have been restored or rebuilt only as far back as 1662-3. The later insertion had a few panes of painted glass, in which the arms of the see and some of the churches of the city were represented, but the work was in far worse taste

and more tawdry and poverty-stricken even than the west window, and amid general execration it was destroyed during the recent restoration, when Early English lancets were substituted, as in keeping with the architecture of the east end. Willis says that the tower was scaled and greatly injured, and Green states that "the handsome pinnacles of open work, and surrounded with a corresponding battlement," were erected towards the close of the last century. All this wretched work, it is now gratifying to write, has at length been displaced and remedied. Mr. T. Johnson was the architect who is said to have built the great east and west windows, on the glass of which his wife painted some of the subjects. Johnson has been accused of cutting away much of the beautiful enrichment of the tower and also of "beautifying" it. An agreement was made in 1796 between the dean and chapter and Edward Jones, plasterer, of Ludlow, to finish the colouring and whitewashing of the interior of the cathedral in the same manner as a Mr. Cole of Worcester had begun it in the north-east aisle. He was to clean, scrape, plaster, repair, colour, and whitewash, the walls and roofs, for £340. Again in 1797 the cathedral is said to have been "undergoing a thorough and complete repair," so that the residence of the prebends was dispensed with. It is not stated

what this repair was, but the bishop then gave £100 towards the completion of the great east window, which Willis says was erected in 1792. In 1811 it was agreed by the dean and chapter "that the plan of the improvement of the altar screen proposed by Mr. St. John, the treasurer, be adopted." This refers to the screen of open stone-work, glazed, which stands behind the altar, but which is to be replaced by a handsome new reredos. The previous screen or wainscoting was formed of plain oak, divided into panels by a series of Corinthian pilasters; and the screen which is now about to be removed was composed of the screens taken from the eastern transepts. Further "improvements" took place in 1812, when the treasurer was requested to remove the old doors from the north porch and to erect new ones, using for that purpose the materials of the old altar wainscot. The old doors then removed were no doubt those a portion of which still remains in the crypt, and said to be covered with human skin. Tradition says it was the skin of a Dane who stole the sanctus bell and who was flayed for his sacrilegious propensities. The new doors formed out of the altar wainscoting are still used at the inner part of the north porch. Mr. St. John subsequently caused to be erected the choir or organ screen, made of compo and adorned with wood carvings

taken from the subsellæ of the choir stalls, which remained till the screen and the organ which it supported were removed in 1865 from beneath the arch separating the choir from the nave.

The great restoration now (1866) in course of progress will, it is estimated, cost in the whole some £60,000, and includes the almost entire recasing of the walls and tower, rebuilding of the walls and windows at the east and west ends, restoring the windows of the choir aisles from the Perpendicular insertions to their original lancet shape, scraping and cleansing the walls, piers, and roofs internally, rearranging and refitting the choir and sanctuary with more appropriate seats and furniture, removing the screens between the choir and its aisles, also the organ and its gallery, paving and warming, erection of new clock and bells (a separate scheme, promoted by the Rev. R. Cattley), re-opening the west door, &c. All this has been carried out under the direction of Mr. Perkins, the cathedral architect, Mr. Scott of London having likewise been consulted with respect to a portion of the work.

I have thought it desirable, for the benefit of visitors to the cathedral, to insert here a table of the styles, names, and dimensions of its different parts, with a brief outline of the objects of interest therein contained, as prepared by my friend, Mr. J. Severn Walker:—

STYLES OF ARCHITECTURE.	KINGS.	PARTS OF THE BUILDING.	INTERIOR DIMENSIONS. Length. Feet.	Breadth. Feet.	Height. Feet.
Norman, or English Romanesque, A.D. 1066 to 1154. Transitional Norman, 1154 to 1189.	William I. William II. Henry I. Stephen. Henry II.	Crypt	70	97	10
		Part of central transept	126	32	66
		Passages from cloister to priory and College-green			
		Vaults under refectory			
		Chapter-house (interior)	55	55	45
		Two western bays of nave	48	76	67
Early English, 1189 to 1272.	Richard I. John. Henry III.	Lady chapel and aisles	61	74	64
		Eastern transepts	120	24	64
		Choir and aisles	120	74	61
Decorated, 1272 to 1377.	Edward I. Edward II. Edward III.	Nave and aisles	218	78	67
		Tower	44	44	196
		Guesten-hall	65	34	55
		Refectory	120	38	
Perpendicular, 1377 to 1546.	Richard II. to Henry VIII.	North porch	24	18	
		Cloisters	485	16	17
		Prince Arthur's chapel	19	9	13
		Pulpit; windows and exterior of chapter-house			

OBJECTS OF INTEREST.

"GROUND PLAN, a double cross, consisting of nave, with aisles, north porch, and chapel, transept, central tower, choir and aisles, with south chapel; crypt; eastern transept and Lady chapel, aisles, but none to transepts.

"CRYPT, part of St. Wulstan's church, and a good plain specimen of Norman.

"CHOIR, EASTERN TRANSEPT, and LADY CHAPEL, remarkably elegant example of Early English, with exquisitely sculptured foliage in bosses and capitals, superior to the generality of carving of the same date. Shafts of polished Purbeck marble. Interesting examples of early sculpture in spandrils of wall arcade under the windows of eastern transept and aisles of Lady chapel.

"NAVE, less elegant than the choir, and of later date, except the two western bays, which are late Norman. The north side differs from the south in the shape of clerestory arches, capitals and bases of piers, &c., and is altogether of a better character.

"RICH STONE PULPIT, removed from the west end of nave about the middle of last century.

"PRINCE ARTHUR'S CHANTRY CHAPEL, south of sanctuary, an elaborate specimen of late Perpendicular, and the last addition to the cathedral previous to the Reformation.

"ORIEL WINDOW projecting into north aisle of choir, formerly communicating with sacrist's lodgings.

"Interesting and extensive series of ENCAUSTIC TILES, in their original arrangement, in rooms leading out of vestry, south side of choir.

"ANCIENT MONUMENTS.—King John's tomb in centre of choir; Bishop Gifford and a lady under south side of Prince Arthur's chapel; Sir R. Harcourt, a lady, and Sir Griffith Ryce and his lady, 1522 (the brass destroyed), in the south-east transept; three effigies on the floor of Lady chapel, supposed to be Bishops William de Blois, 1236; Cantelupe, 1266; and Hemenhale, 1338; Philip Ballard, last abbot of Evesham, and second dean of Worcester, at the back of altar

screen; a lady and Sir James Beauchamp, in north aisle of Lady chapel; other bishops south of north-east transept; Sir John Beauchamp and his lady, 1388, Bishop Freake, 1591, Judge Lyttelton, 1481, and others, in nave.

"Elaborate, but tasteless and incongruous, designs of the seventeenth century, such as the monuments of Bishops Thornborough, Parry, and Gauden, Dean Eades, &c.

"Roubiliac's monument to Bishop Hough, and Chantrey's to Mrs. Digby, fine specimens of sculpture as regards execution but inappropriate in style.

"The modern monuments are generally of unmeaning character, and all designed without reference to the style of the building in which they are placed or to the faith in which those commemorated are supposed to have died.

"MEMORIAL WINDOWS.—In Jesus chapel, by Wailes, to the first wife of the Rev. Canon Wood; near the same chapel, a window to the late Mr. J. Bennett; east end of north aisle, by Hardman, to the memory of the late Canon Cocks; east end of south aisle, to wife of Rev. Allen Wheeler; in the south wall, near the last-named window, to the memory of Col. Unett; and south window of transept, to Queen Adelaide.

"CLOISTERS.—West side, lavatory and entrance to dormitory; south, refectory; east, chapter-house, a decagon, with central pillar; and passage to ancient priory, which was made the deanery at the reformation, and taken down in 1842. Ruins of ancient guesten hall, eastward of chapter-house."

Chapter VII.

THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS.

"I do love these ancient ruins:
You never tread upon them but you set
Your foot upon some rev'rend history."

AMONG the few remains of the monastic buildings which are still preserved to us the cloisters first claim our attention. Here it was that the monks sat and studied, wrote, walked, or conversed, when not engaged in religious duties. Beneath the floor, or in the little square green—sometimes called a "paradise"—in the centre of the cloisters, reposed the ashes of several of their priors and many benefactors of the church, whose munificent deeds in aid of their establishment, together with the miracles wrought by its patron saint, Wulstan, were emblazoned

"In storied windows, richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light."

On the "embowed roof" the sculptured stories of the Old and New Testament, and on the walls the frescoed representations of scriptural or legendary lore, imparted at once a warmth, beauty, and interest, to this charming retreat of the brotherhood. Nor in pacing along its aisles, even now that it is denuded of this auxiliary wealth of decoration, can any one who is in the habit of exercising thought fail to be impressed with such associations as the history of the place produces, or to be thankful that it escaped the general wreck and ruin of the reformation and civil war. The cloisters are of very early Perpendicular work, said by the local historians to have been erected in 1372. The principal entrance to them is on the south from the College-green, through a Norman passage, underneath the dais end of the ancient refectory. This latter building forms one side of the south cloister, from which there is a door leading into the north-west entrance of the refectory. In the west cloister still remains the lavatory, or long stone trough, cut in the wall, for the monks to wash at, the water being then brought in pipes from Henwick hill, crossing the river on the old bridge. Between this trough and the steps leading up to the refectory is the doorway which led to the residence

of the sub-prior; and in the same wall of the cloister are also doorways to the dormitory, to the vaults under, and the old library. At the north end of the west cloister is a vaulted passage, of transitional Norman work, which led to the infirmary and other offices. Close to this passage, and in the north cloister, is the monks' doorway into the nave of the cathedral; and at the east end of the same wall is the prior's entrance, at which he arrived by passing into the cloister under a Norman vaulted passage leading from his residence on the east side. In the view of the cloister given in the frontispiece of this volume will be seen in front of the spectator the steps and doorway by which the prior passed into the cathedral, and in the wall on the right hand a small opening or passage leading to the priory. The larger door in the wall at the right hand is that of the chapter-house, close to which may be seen the recesses in the wall which I take to be aumbries or cupboards for books and manuscripts. At Beaulieu the large aumbry for books was in the east cloister. I should suppose the monks' pews, carrols,* or writing desks, ranged along by the windows opposite these recesses, or, as has been suggested by a friend of mine, if the east side of the cloister was much used by processions from the cathedral to the chapter-house, the carrols would more likely have

* From the Norman "carole," a screened enclosure.

been in the north or south cloister, as being more free from disturbance. At Winchester, Chester, and Gloucester, the south cloister was occupied by carrols; at Durham, the north side. There was glass in our cloister windows in 1611, but it was undoubtedly plain, as the reformers and iconoclasts would not have permitted the miracles of saints to be any longer perpetuated in that shape; had any remained however the civil wars and the quartering of the troops in the cathedral must have completed the destruction. In Townsend's annals (in the library of the Society of Antiquaries) it is recorded:—

"1646, July 5. Two centrys at the magazine in the cloysters broke down one whole window of carved stone against it only to steal away the iron bars which were left in in the night, for which they are committed. £5 will not repayre and set up the window, and all the iron not worth 2*s.* in it. An ill president for the enimy, who may truly say, if they escaped unpunished, your own men began and without punishment, and are you angry with us?"

It is recorded that "John Gyfford and Anthony Twyne, of London, bought the cloisters and garden ground of the trustees for the Parliament, and sold the same to Yarrenton, Baldwyne, and Darling," "who rased it, and took away the timber and lead." Thus the mere stone shell remained. At the restoration of Charles it was discussed "whether it be safe to proceed against these last three men

without the first buyers, who came but too late to my notice." This is in a little loose paper document, without signature or recorded result; but doubtless the sacrilegious hands escaped. When the "survey" was taken by order of the Commons in 1649-50, Luke Heyward the sexton was said to hold at will "certain premises within the cloister adjoining to the chapter-house on the south and the cathedral on the north, consisting of a hall and chamber and two or three other little rooms." This was the ancient treasury, now called Cromwell's rooms, from a tradition that the Protector took up his temporary abode there. One or more of these apartments, which are reached by a flight of steps from the priory passage in the east cloister, are also said to have been the prison of the monks. At Durham there were three prisons in a nearly similar situation, being attached to the south side of the chapter-house. In 1660 "old Martin" was requested "to depart ye house in ye cloisters," and received £2 compensation, as also did widow Hunt "for ye same." The cloister windows were repaired a few years afterwards, and a lamp hung in each of the four sides of the cloisters, which were then much more of a thoroughfare than at present, for the prebends and their officers passing to their respective residences. Half-a-crown a quarter was at one time paid for sweeping them, and in 1720 Rd.

Nelmes swept the cloister, and the dark alley on the west, for £1. 10*s.* a-year. John Kent, stone-mason, agreed with the dean and chapter in 1769 to make and finish the south side of the cloister in the same style and order as the west side thereof was lately done, at the rate of £12 for each window." This was probably the origin of the plain stone mullions and jambs which still disfigure the said windows, and which it is hoped will soon give place to Perpendicular tracery and glazing. The roof had been repaired, no doubt, soon after the king's restoration, and whitewashing and colouring the interior has prevailed from that day to this.

Next in point of interest to the cloisters is the chapter-house, chiefly a transitional Norman building, a decagonal room with vaulted roof, supported by a central or umbilical pillar and radiating vaulting ribs, the windows and upper portion of the walls being Perpendicular work at the time the cloisters were built. It is stated that Westminster and Worcester chapter-houses are the only exceptions to the Benedictine rule of building rectangular chapter-houses, these being polygonal. In the survey book of 1650 it was described as being covered with lead worth £60, "and the howse noe otherwise valued, which house is and hath bin in possession of Thos. Edwine, who holds prebendary Charlett's house between the College-green

and the chapter-house, for the space of three years last past, adjoyning to his house above seyd." During the civil wars the chapter-house was used as a magazine for powder; and from the year 1675 the library was kept there till the recent works of restoration were begun, when the books were removed to their present place in Edgar Tower.

The refectory also still remains to us. The lower portion of its walls and the vaults beneath are early Norman, and the upper part of the walls is nearly of the same date with the cloisters, while the roof is much more modern. Considering that only between forty and fifty monks usually dined here, the size of the room is large, being 120 feet by 38 feet. Traces of the pulpit from which scriptural and other readings were made during meal-times, as also the staircase leading to it through the north wall, are still seen here. Professor Willis says that passages connecting the vaults of the refectory (which were of course assigned to the cellarer) with the kitchen and other offices to the south-west of the refectory are still in existence under the prebendal house now occupied by Canon Sir Gilbert Lewis.

Scarcely any other fragment of the monastic buildings is in existence at the present time, except the great gatehouse of the monastery and one wall of the Guesten-hall (east of the refectory),

a fourteenth century building almost unique of its kind, which, after being retained some years by the dean and chapter in the hope that archæologists throughout the kingdom would do something towards its restoration, at length became hopelessly dilapidated, and was destroyed only two or three years ago, its magnificent timber roof being given to the new church at Shrub-hill, where it may still be seen. The Guesten-hall was erected in 1320 by Prior Wulstan de Bransford, for the entertainment of guests, and here was held the court for the manor of Guesten-hall and likewise the audits of the tenantry almost up to the time of its destruction. The hall was under the management of hospitalarius. A guest-hall and chamber are mentioned twenty years before the erection of this Guesten-hall, the annalist (Ann. Wig.) relating that upon occasion of the archbishop's visitation he was lodged with his attendants in the prior's hall (aula prioris), because the great hall and the house of the guests were occupied by many unbidden visitors. In 1593 it was ordered that the treasurer should "repair the great old hall belonging to Mr. Deane's house in reasonable order and decent sort for the use of the audit and other diet at that time, and for other public meetings." The obvious uses to which this building could at all times be devoted probably saved it from great damage during the Cromwellian period, and in 1685 it was—

"Ordered that a fair staircase be built in the deanery hall up to the dyneing room, the ordering of which matter is left to Mr. Price the chapter clerk, sufficient timber for the work to be cut down in Berrow wood."

This shows that the division of the hall into stories and apartments had taken place before that period. The last notice we have of this building is in 1691, when its roof was repaired. Had the whole structure been preserved and converted into a library it would have been far preferable to Edgar Tower for that purpose.

The prior's house, to which the Guesten-hall was attached, was built in 1225 by William de Bedeford, the twenty-third prior. At the reformation this house was allotted to the dean, and was described in the parliamentary survey of 1650 thus:—

"John Lydiatt, by grant and lease from the committee of sequestrations, holds the dean's house for one year. The same house consisteth of a gate, a little porter's lodge adjoining, a little court, a porch leading into the hall, covered with lead, which lead containeth in breadth 15 ft. and in length 17 ft., a haule conteyning in bredth 34 ft. and in length 64 ft., withoute seeling, only covered over with lead, which lead is in bredth 60 ft. and in length 68 ft., two kitchens, a pastry, a pantry, with other small necessary rooms opening in the haule and alsoe into the parl'r, another pantry and buttery, likewise opening in the parl'r only. A parlor conteyning in bredth 20 ft. and in length 40 ft., a little parler within the same partly wainscote, a dyning roome over the greate parlor, wainscott, conteyning in bredth 20 ft. and in length 40 ft., a withdrawing roome within the same likewise wainscott, and a studdy within that, a chamber and closet likewise on thother

side the dyning room, being waynscot, alsoe eight playn chambers or rooms with a studdy, and ov'r the kitchens, pantry, and pastry, another wainscot chamber called the queen's chamber, a grete celler at th'one end of the howse, another at thother end, one upp'r chamber near the haule, covered with lead, which covering is in bredth 24 ft. and in length 48 ft., another p'cell of lead in length 8 ft. and in bredth 6 ft., a chappell abutting on the garden, one stable of stone in two p'ts divided, conteyning room for 14 horses, and a chamber for the groome, also haylofts over it, a garden adjoining the said house, being on the west, a stone wall 10 ft. high on the east, the cathedral adjoining on the north, the gate-house (Edgar Tower) and the house late Mr. Tomkins on the south, which said garden containeth in bredth 90 ft., in length 150 ft. One other garden behind the stables 70 ft. by 20 ft. and 10 ft. All which premises are now worth £10, at rent of £3. 6*s.* 8*d.* The lead is worth £138, and to cover it with tyle and timber if lead taken off will cost £38."

From Professor Willis's description of the prior's buildings it appears that they extended from the passage leading out of the east cloister, along between the cathedral and the guesten-hall, nearly as far as Edgar Tower, but that the portion nearest the tower disappeared, together with the residence of the almoner, when the house attached to the tenth prebend was erected there (now the residence of the Hon. and Rev. Canon Fortescue). The principal entrance was from the College-green, on the east side of the guesten-hall; but commencing from the cloister passage, the first apartment of the priory abutted against the treasury chambers, and the lower floor was latterly employed as a granary

and a place for wood and coal, but the upper floor had a large room, with excellent panelled Perpendicular ceiling and square-headed windows, degraded into a laundry. Proceeding easterly, the next apartment was a timber-framed structure, and then came a stone chamber with a Decorated window like those of the guesten-hall, and was separated from that hall by a passage and door which was the communication between the priory and the hall. The same passage led round the north wall of the hall directly to the wall of the chapter-house and the cloisters. This stone chamber had been converted into the dean's kitchen, and was covered by other wood buildings, the whole being in a hopeless state of decay. The next apartments were unknown, but immediately at the rear of the tenth prebendal house was an ancient hall—perhaps the prior's hall (aula prioris, before named) as distinct from the guesten-hall—being between forty and fifty feet long, with an ornamental roof of the fourteenth century. A sketch of this was given in the "Builder" in 1848, before it was pulled down. This hall had been fitted up with modern floors and partitions, so as to make the ordinary dining room of the deanery on the ground and the best bed-rooms over. The dimensions of this hall agreed with those of the 'spital for lodging pilgrims mentioned by Hopkins as also in Nathaniel Tomkins's MS., which de-

scribes "the 'spital for lodging of pilgrims and poor strangers" as "being one great room of above fifty feet long, twenty feet broad, now altered."

The passage leading from the east cloister to the priory, Professor Willis supposes—judging from similar places so allocated in other monasteries—to have been a locutory, or place in which the monks were permitted to converse among themselves or with friends, and to hold occasional intercourse with strangers or "marchants to utter their waires." Through that passage also were conveyed the bodies of deceased monks to their own special cemetery between the priory and the cathedral, or perhaps a little more easterly.

In 1845 the deanery (priory) was pulled down, when an arrangement was made for the dean to occupy the episcopal palace near the cathedral, the bishop taking up his residence at Hartlebury Castle, one of the ancient seats attached to the see; but the clergy generally, as well as his lordship himself, are unanimous in a wish that at some future day the city of Worcester should again become the head quarters of the episcopate, as a more central and in every way more desirable position for the bishop.

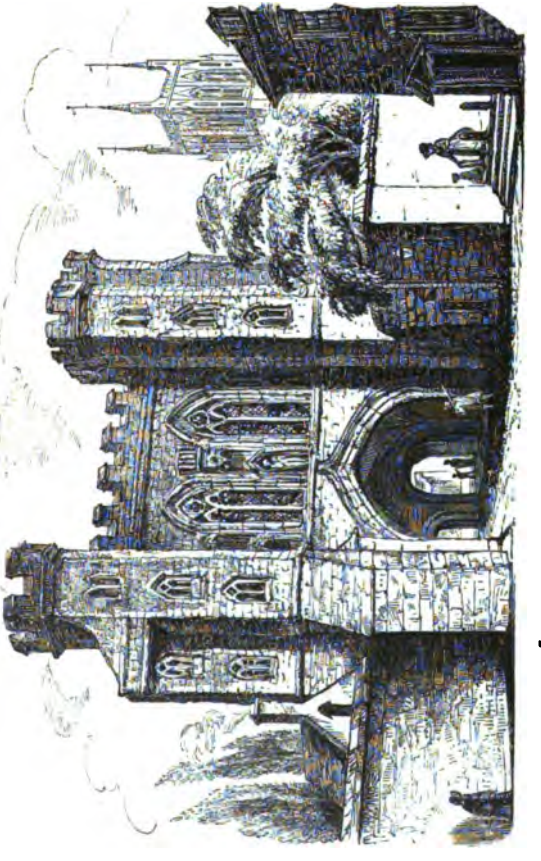
Having now arrived at the great gate-house of the monastery, let us first notice that structure, then turn westerly, passing round College-green and the

cathedral, describing the monastic buildings as they once stood and all other notabilities within the sacred circle of the sanctuary.

Edgar Tower was called "St. Mary's gate," "the great tower," or "the gatehouse of the monastery of St. Mary," and the steps leading down to the street near the tower are still called "St. Mary's steps." The name "Edgar Tower" seems a modern application, as I have nowhere met with it till the early part of the last century; and the same may be said of Edgar-street, which was probably a name given at the same time, as complimentary to the memory of King Edgar, who was one of the founders of the monastery. Every one now knows that this tower could not have been built by that monarch, but was probably erected in the time of King John, as appears by a portion of the architecture, and there being indeed a tradition to that effect mentioned by Habingdon and Thomas. The tower or gateway had belonged to the castle built by Urso, the first Norman sheriff under the Conqueror, on ground which he is alleged to have seized from the monastery. King John, being a good patron of the monks, had probably given his promise for the restoration of this land, more especially as Walter de Beauchamp, then hereditary sheriff, had taken part with the barons against the king, and therefore had his lands seized and con-

fiscated; for on the day of the king's burial in Worcester cathedral the pope's legate and the earl of Pembroke assigned to the prior and monks for the enlargement of their territory that part of the castle ground, court-yard, or bailey, which was of the king's fee, while the fee of Beauchamp the sheriff was purchased by the monastery for £100 of silver and the promise of a daily mass for the souls of himself and family for ever. The young king, Henry III., was under age when this assignment was made, and the claim of the monks to the land in dispute was heard before Stapleton and his associates, when a jury of the shire gave their verdict in favour of the monastery, and the restoration was confirmed by charter of the king in 1232. Habingdon says that in front of the tower, which King John "did by all likelyhood build as the statelie gatehouse of his court, which after served the priorie and now the college, under the statues of Our Saviour crowning his blessed Mother is a king armed, with his legs crossed, which may represent King John, who A.D. 1215, in St. Paul's church, London, at the hands of William bishop of ye same sea, tooke on him the signe of the crosse for the holy voyage, or Kyng Richard the fyrst, whose lion's heart conquerd the infidells." The monks then took possession of the tower, built an embattled wall from it to the Severn, separating them

from the castle, and on part of the ground so restored they built the cloisters. Some writers have thought that the monks built the tower as a gateway when they first took possession of the recovered land, and that it was called Edgar's Tower out of compliment to that monarch as their founder; but as that name is not mentioned in ancient writings, and moreover as King John seems to have been the author of the restoration, and is said to have delighted much to be at his castle of Worcester, and as a tradition is in favour of its being called King John's Tower, there seems to be little doubt that it was so. The great gate was the abode of the porter to the monastery. He was usually an elderly and judicious man, whose duties are elsewhere defined along with those of the other officers, and among them was to keep pigeons on the top of the tower. In some abbey gatehouses one or more priests usually slept, and had a chapel in which daily mass was celebrated. There is very little information respecting the occupants of Edgar Tower until the new order of things introduced by the reformation. In 1584 the porter was ordered not to open the gates before five in the morning or after nine at night unless for the necessary business of the dean or prebendaries. During the civil wars the tower was occupied for the king and afterwards for the parliament, and coals were ordered every



[GREAT GATE OF THE MONASTERY—EDGAR TOWER.]

four or five days to keep the guards warm at that post. When the parliamentary survey was made in 1649-50 one John Tilt occupied the gatehouse "then commonly called college gate;" he paid 10*s.* a year rental, but it was valued at 50*s.* and the lead on the tower as worth £40, "but cannot be taken away without ruin to all the building." It would seem however that the lead was too tempting a bait, for in 1661 Henry Richards, carpenter, was employed "to set up a good roof upon the north side or end of the great gatehouse and to pay labourers for taking down the broken tiles, stuff, and other materials, wherewith it is now covered;" and also Philip Geary was paid £3. 6*s.* "for laths, tiles, and work on the south side over the porter's lodge, besides other work and cleansing of the rooms." A lantern was usually kept burning under the tower, and about this time half-a-crown was laid out on the purchase of one; the porter also carried a tin lantern with him at night. In 1666 the two under-masters of the school resided in the tower, and in 1675 the "lodging in the tower" was ordered to be cleared for the use of Mr. Griffith and Mr. Kenrick, the previous occupants having been a Mr. Havard and Mr. Rd. Smith. The last-named left the tower on obtaining the living of St. Michael's, and took up his abode at the parsonage house of that parish which then stood in the college

yard. Kenrick was a minor canon, but falling into disgrace, was suspended for three years. A lease of all the rooms and lodgings in the tower was granted to Mr. Henry Panting, clerk, and probably minor canon, on these terms:—

"All that their tower, gate-house, or dwelling-house, with the appurtenances, commonly called or known by the name of the college gate, within the district of the cathedral church aforesaid, having the street called the Knoll-end* on the east side, the garden belonging to the tenth prebend on the south side, the college green on the west side, and the dean's garden on the north side thereof, except and always reserved out of these presents unto the said dean and chapter the gates, doors, and passage under the said tower, and the ground rooms on the south side of the said tower, and now in the tenure or occupation of Reece Pritchard, porter to the said dean and chapter, and called by the name of the porter's lodge."

The lease was for twenty-one years, at 40*s.* a year, with covenants to repair, pay taxes, open no new doors, and also upon condition that he spent £80 in improving and fitting up the tower. We hear no more of Edgar Tower till 1746, when it was illuminated in honour of some duke's birthday. It was however still occupied as a residence, a charge of 1*s.* 6*d.* being made in 1758 "for a bar used in ye kitchen chimby to King Edgar's Tower, and in the following year £4 was spent in "making a particion a cross the great room at ye tower

* Now Edgar-street, being the end of the knoll or rising ground on which the castle stood.

with lath and plaster work." In 1769 Wm. Insole was appointed "porter of the gate near the college churchyard," but this appointment may probably refer to the lesser gatehouse, or "grates," at the entrance to the cathedral yard opening into High-street. Towards the close of the last century the Rev. T. Clarke, vicar of Stoke Prior, minister of St. Michael's, and sacrist of the cathedral, resided in the tower for many years, St. Michael's rectory having at that time been in sequestration for upwards of a century. Since Mr. Clarke's occupancy Edgar Tower has been used as offices by Messrs. Clifton and Hooper, chapter clerk and registrar, and now also as the chapter library, but probably only *pro tem.*

In proceeding westward from Edgar Tower round the College-green (the ancient curia or outer court of the monastery) for a description of the monastic buildings I must express my acknowledgment of the great assistance derived from Professor Willis's treatise. Close to the right, the house now occupied by Canon Fortescue was the site of the residence of eleemosynarius, or almoner, whose duty it was to distribute alms to the poor and probably superintend what was given away by the porter at the great gate. That house and part of the priory were assigned at the reformation to the tenth prebend; the present house was built by Dr. Byrch

about 120 years ago. At the north-west angle of the almoner's house was the entrance to the priory (as before detailed) which surrounded the east and north sides of the guesten-hall. Next to the latter building, and to the south front of the chapter-house, was the residence of hospitalarius (so called by Hopkins), including probably guest chambers and the checker or business room of that officer; and Willis supposes these chambers continued along in front of the guesten-hall flush with the almoner's house, so as to form a continuous line from the refectory to the great gatehouse. The hospitaller's house was assigned to the fourth prebend, and remained standing till 1841, when it was destroyed. Passing along by the refectory (college school), still looking westward, in front of you, forming a façade running north and south, at right angles with the refectory, with which they communicated by means of a door at its south-west corner, were the kitchens and the cook or kitchener's house. Behind this, westerly, was the residence of the pittancer and cellarer, whose duties connected them with the supervision of the food and drink for the monastery. These two houses were assigned to the sixth and seventh prebends, and were destroyed in 1845, when the remains of the cooking kitchen were brought to light underneath the present open gravelled space in front of the residence of Canon

Sir Gilbert Lewis. We now come to the flight of steps leading down to the Severn ferry.

Water-gate or boat-house: the gate-house at the Severn ferry was erected in 1378; "Frater William Power, cellerer, made ye water-gate." In a roll of the time of Henry VI. the boatman at the gate was paid a salary of 16*s.* 8*d.* a year, which was subsequently increased to 40*s.* About 1575, John Wall and his son were appointed to the office and to inhabit the house over the gate. They were not to open the gate before five in the morning nor after nine at night, unless for the necessary business of the dean or prebends. The boatman or porter had to observe similar rules to those imposed on the porter of the great gate, with the addition that on Sundays he should lock up the gates and open only the wicket, except when the horses in the college stables were to be watered; he was not to allow any one to pass in or out of the wicket on that day or ferry them over the river, but such as belonged to the church, or the milk-woman, or such husbandmen as had occasion to look after the cattle in the grounds on the other side of the river, except also the inhabitants of the college and the vicar of St. John's (who was one of the minor canons of the cathedral) and the company he should bring with him. The prior and the officers of the monastery had frequent use of the

boat for crossing the river to their manor-house of Hardwick. The arms of the college were carved and painted on the boat. When the valuation of the cathedral property took place in 1650 Thos. Reades was boatman; the house had then two rooms below and one above, and was valued at 10*s.* a year. One would scarcely have thought that the restoration of monarchy in 1660 would have affected so humble an office as boatman to the college, yet it is recorded that, among the compensations granted to those officials who were then ejected, one Dark received £2 "to depart from ye boatman's house," and John Parkman was appointed in his place. At the same time it appears that Rd. Brown, a minor canon, on being presented to St. Clement's rectory, had assigned to him the house over the water-gate. In 1713, Richard Nash, servant to the dean, was elected boatman of the ferry, and soon afterwards he was ordered to impose a tax of 10*d.* on every cart drawing coals along the "slipp" (or Severn bank) at the gate, that ground having been much "damnified" by the practice, which it seems was carried on by persons living out of the college precincts. The porter was to have three months' suspension if he permitted coals to go through the gate except under written leave, and no coal was to be landed at the slip until the owner had waited on the

dean and prebends to know what coal they wanted before any other person was supplied. The salary of the boatman ceased in 1722, it being probably found that the office was sufficiently lucrative; and subsequently the tables were turned and a rent of £2 a year was paid for the boat. In May, 1750, Elizabeth Wise, servant to the dean, "was elected, sworn, and admitted into the office of boatwoman, vacant by the death of Rd. Nash." She was called "Betty," and this is the origin of the term "Betty's boat," still used by old inhabitants in reference to the cathedral ferry. This good lady seems to have kept possession of her office and the boat for a term of forty-three years, as I find no account of a successor till Henry Kerby was appointed in 1793. The only ancient part of the gate-house remaining is the actual gateway, with its vaulting, being plain fifteenth century work denuded of its ribs.

Close to the water-gate is the residence of Canon Wood, which is partly a modern house on or near the site of the residence of tumbarius, or keeper of the tombs and shrines in the cathedral. From the parliamentary survey it would appear that tumbarius resided between the river and the house called the Oven. The house of tumbarius was assigned to the second prebend, and in the time of the civil wars was occupied by Giles Thornborough, then prebend

of the second stall, who was ejected to make place for one of the principal Presbyterian preachers, Simon Moore, who in the "survey" is described in the way in which all Puritans were distinguished from the church clergy, namely, as "a preacher of GOD'S word;" and with regard to his house the following recommendation was made:—

"It is much desired by the well affected people here that this last recited house may remain a habitation for the said Mr. Moore, being a minister in the cathedral, during his continuance there, and to his successors, there being noe house appointed for that purpose."

Some show of consideration was exhibited towards Mr. Thornborough on account of his presumed moderate views:—

"The above-named Mr. Thornborough is a man very well deserving and the only man of all the prebends who opposed the rest in their superstition and their actings for the late king; he is very weak in his estate, hath a great charge of children, and little or nothing whereby to subsist, having only the profits of his prebend, which he hath hitherto enjoyed."

A part of Monkmeadow, St. John's, was in trust for the benefit of Mr. Thornborough, but it does not appear whether this was continued to him.

Near the above house, in the extreme south-west angle of the cathedral territory, is a house still called "The Oven" (now the residence of Miss Kilvert), denoting the site of the monastic bakehouse. In 1591 a lease was granted to Ed.

Archbold "of those old and ruinated houses and buildings in the precincts of the cathedral church, upon the south side towards the castle, together with a room whereupon the old great oven was built, and a room over the roof of the said oven, now used as a pigeon-house, and a decayed room, with a little plot of ground adjoining." Edward George held the Oven at the time of the civil wars.

Professor Willis supposes that the whole of the south boundary of the green was in monastic days occupied by the wash-house, stables, granaries, barns, malt-kiln, and such-like offices, except the residence to the south-west of Edgar Tower, which formerly belonged to the organist, but was subsequently assigned to the first prebend, or rather a new residence was erected for him there after the sacrist's lodgings on the north side of the cathedral, and in which the first prebend had resided, were pulled down, in 1712.

Let us now see what light the records will throw on the College-green and its habitations. Tomkins, the then organist, who lived in the before-named house, at the east side of the green, was exposed for alleged dishonesty by the surveyors for the parliament in 1650, who report that—

"Thos. Tomkins and Thos. Chiles held two good new houses north of the castle. The messuage or tenement in the tenure of Chiles was built by him (Thos. Chiles), and we are

credibly informed that the said Tomkins was trusted by the said Thos. Chiles to purchase the same for him, the said Thos. Chiles, but contrary to that trust the said Mr. Tomkins did take it in his own name after such time as the said Thos. Chiles had built thereon, to his great costs and charges; and therefore humbly craves he may be admitted to purchase the inheritance thereof."

At the same date Dr. Hardinge, master of the college school, occupied a house on the south side of the green, near that of the organist; and further west was "the melting house," probably used for the casting of lead—so much in request in those days—which however was destroyed a few years afterwards and the melting business transferred to the site of the clochium, as will be shown hereafter. Next to the lead-house was a residence occupied in 1650 by Rd. Moore, also "a preacher of GOD'S word," and previously by Dr. Croft, prebend of seventh stall and afterwards bishop of Hereford. It appears that most of the monastic offices on the south side of the green were converted into dwellings, the site of the brewhouse serving for a dwelling-house for the schoolmaster and likewise the chantor's residence; also there was a house occupied in 1650 by Rowland Crosby, another "preacher of GOD'S word," of whom it was reported that "he holdeth at will as yet one mansion house with the appurtenances within the precincts of the college, in such sort as he did when he was one of the petty

canons. It is much desired by the committee here and many other well affected people of the city and country that this last-mentioned house may remain for the usher of the free school."

There was probably a green in this court from the time of its restoration to the monastery. In 1680 there were rails round it and a globe lantern erected. Lime-trees were in that year brought by Wm. Smith from Shrawley and planted around the green by Wm. Purton. The trees were diligently watered and the grass mown; the limes however seem to have perished by the year 1723, when young elms were planted there. On public occasions bonfires were lit in the green, and mention is made of an alcove and wilderness there. Wildernesses or mazes, such as we still see at Hampton Court, were highly fashionable at one time.

No mention is made of the kitchen gardens of the monastery, but they were no doubt inside the west wall overlooking the Severn, on each side of the boat-house; and this brings us to the batch of monastic buildings at the west of the refectory, cloisters, and cathedral.

Abutting on the whole of the west wall of the refectory and part of the cloister, into which it opened by a doorway still in existence, was the sub-prior's house, which was afterwards allotted to the third prebend, on the site of the present newly

erected residence of Canon Sir Gilbert Lewis. During the civil wars that house was vacated by Prebendary Boughton and occupied by Gilbert Cox, also "a preacher of GOD's word," and the residence was then described as being of stone, covered with lead, and as having a passage into the cloister, whereby the sub-prior had been enabled to command the discipline of the monks. West of this, and extending to the walk leading to the boat-house, was a large space for a garden either for the sub-prior or the monastery; while north of this space, and extending from the west wall of the cloister down to the steps of what was known as "the dark alley," was the dormitory, 120 feet long and sixty feet wide, its vaulted stone roof supported by five pillars ranging along its centre, as Dr. Hopkins informs us. That building was erected in 1375 ("post fest'm Epiph. incep. est opus novi dormitorii p' frat'm Ric. Wenlake, cellar.") after a long interval had elapsed from the falling of the previous structure. The author of the "Annales" tells us that in 1302 "a great part of the dormitory fell, which had a great time threatened, thereby manifesting our negligence." When the dormitory was being rebuilt the monks were "lodged in ye king's chamber or ye great gatehouse (Edgar Tower) and the king's castle in ye upper and lower rooms." Under the dormitory were vaults, which Professor

Willis thinks must have been "the common house" (the only part of the monastery where fires were kept for the monks to warm themselves). At the dissolution a small portion of the dormitory was enclosed in an adjoining house, and the vaults and apartments beneath were occupied by various classes of people, as may be gathered from the following report of the government surveyors in 1650:—

"A spacious roome or howse called the dormitory, built with strong walls, the floor thereof being earth, containing in breadth 62 ft., in length 105 ft., only there is taken out of one corner 11 ft. 2 in. in breadth and 15 ft. 2 in. in length, which is used with the house belonging to Mary Bellers aforesaid adjoining. In the midst of the said roome are *nine* great stone pillars extending east and west in the length thereof, bearing up the cover. The cover of the said dormitory is of lead, being in breadth 70 ft. and in length 105 ft. Under the dormitory there is a vault, in which there is a passage to divers rooms called the dark alley, and some dwelling rooms on both sides of the said dark alley, which said rooms were occupied by Sarah Drew, widow, Richard Brown, late petty canon, Wm. Marten, and an old woman called by the name of poore Anne. The dormitory is for no other use but to be valued by the materials, viz., lead, £63; timber, £7; and therefore the poor dwellings under it not valued. Another dark room at the lower end of the dormitory called the infirmary, part whereof belongeth to the house of Dame Buck, and the other to the house of Mary Bellers."

This "Dame Elianor Buck" is described as "holding Dr. Wight's house near the infirmary, with a waste room or passage hanging over the

Severn." The house held by Mary Bellers was where Prebendary Terringham had lived until ousted by the new dispensation. The said house, "which was part of stone, part timber, was taken out of the old dormitory and infirmary, but some of these buildings hang exceeding weakly over the river, being somewhat dangerous to live in. There is one passage to this house through the dark alley, and another through the garden on the south." The dark alley was the passage leading directly from the cloisters and skirting the dormitory, down the steps to the footway leading to the boat-house. The infirmary, which was westward of the dormitory, and only divided from it by a part of the alley, was, with the lower end of the dormitory, parcelled off into two houses, one of which is that still occupied—a modern building on the old foundations—by Canon Benson. This was the same which widow Bellers held in succession to Prebendary Terringham, or the ninth prebend; and the other north of that by Lady Buck in succession to Dr. Wight, or White, eighth prebend. These eight and ninth stalls were said to have been located at the dissolution in the house of "Magister Capellæ" and the site of the infirmary chapel. This master of the chapel is supposed by Professor Willis to have been the master of the chapel of the charnel-house, which I have elsewhere

proved that he was not; and as the master of the charnel-house must have resided in the house attached to his own chapel, one of the difficulties felt by the professor in assigning the localities of the prebendal houses will be removed. The residence of the infirmarius was given to the fifth prebend, but whether this was close to the infirmary, as one would naturally suppose it to be, or more in front of the west wall of the cathedral, as Professor Willis has stated, it is now too late to decide. There is evidence which favours the professor's view in the fact that at the time of the survey, Dr. Giles, the fifth prebend, had lived in a house between the west wall of the cathedral and the river, having the dormitory on the south and the bishop's palace on the north. This house was then given up to Giles Collier, a Puritan minister. The residences have been destroyed within the last few years, except that of Canon Benson, which stands upon a substructure of excellent Norman rib vaulting, originally open from one end to the other, seventy feet long, thirteen feet six inches wide, in five compartments, which opened to the ground without by as many arches. Two buttresses projected westward from the gable, which stands on a high bank next the Severn, and from its peculiar form and position near the river Professor Willis believes this to have been

the monastic "necessarium," as that office is similarly situated at Durham. In 1691 an order was made—

> "That the vault under the late infirmary be filled up or otherwise secured, in such manner as workmen upon a due consideration of the matter shall advise, provided that if Dr. Reynolds or Dr. Jephcot, the present incumbents of the fifth and eighth prebends, shall think any part of the said vault may be useful to their houses, then such part shall be left and appropriated thereunto for their respective service."

Previous to that, the dormitory, having been stripped of its lead and allowed to fall into ruin, seems to have been swept away, and the ground turned into two gardens, "between Dr. Benson and Mr. Edw. Reynolds, prebends of the fourth and fifth stalls," whose houses were probably too confined to have gardens attached. Fragments of the dormitory walls and windows, as also of the infirmary and ancient buildings attached, may yet be traced, but all other buildings obstructing a view of the west end of the cathedral have been removed, as unnecessary for the reduced chapter, a part of the ground being converted into a green and the portion nearest the river into a playground for the college boys. Old inhabitants well remember the narrow alley by which they passed from the north side of the cathedral round and immediately under its great west window into the dark alley, so called in consequence of the high walls

and impending ruins on either side. That passage under the west window was not opened till about 1748, being prior to that a strictly private enclosure, as appears by an order—

"Whereas the church doors are now ordered to be kept locked up except during the time of divine service, and whereas great inconvenience may thereby arise to the prebends of the eighth and ninth stalls for the want of a way from the churchyard to their respective houses, that a passage be opened for that purpose through the yard leading to the stable belonging to the prebendary of the fifth stall, and so continued under the west end of the church, through the part now enclosed, the consent of the prebend of that stall being first desired."

In the open space between the north porch of the cathedral and the modern gateway which leads to the deanery (then the bishop's palace) formerly stood the charnel-house and chapel in which obituary services were performed for the repose of the dead whose bones still lie in great numbers in the crypt below, which is fifty-seven feet long by twenty-two feet six inches wide. In the early period of the church not only the whole city but the adjacent district buried in the cathedral churchyard, which became so full as to necessitate the removal of the bones into a crypt prepared for the purpose, but at what period does not appear. It was in existence in the time of Henry I. and probably earlier, having certain lands appropriated for the maintenance of a master and three chaplains. The chapel was dedi-

cated to GOD, St. Mary, and St. Thomas the martyr. Bishop de Blois is said to have built, in 1224, "an elegant chapel and competent crypt," and in 1265 Bishop Walter de Cantelupe gave it a new institution, in the name of the Trinity, and appointed four chaplains to be continually resident, one of whom was to be the master:—

"All thease shall sing togeather divine service; they shall in the morning meate togeather in the chappell at the latest when the fyrst bell soundeth in the cittie; in this sorte shall they performe thyer howres (hours or services) concerning the offices of thyer masses thus shall they order themselfes: one masse of the day shalbe celebrated in the chappell before they goe to ye scholes, and having hard thyer lectures, three shalbe everie daye celebrated for the dead. Concerning the state of the chaplains for dyett and life, all shall exercise themselfes in the schooles, eate togeather, and sleepe in one house. As touching the xx marks for ye maintenance of the chaplains, the maister shall pay everie one of the three priests xx*s.* yearly; the rest shalbe bestowed for provision of meate and drink, and they shall have daily bread made of wheate, and ale as good as is comonly usuall in the cittie, with one sufficient dish of meate according to the custome and season. The maister shall moreover have a sufficient clerke, and undergoe the charges of the chappell, lights, books, vestements, &c., and shal kepe one honest servant. The sacrist of the chappell shal repayre the buildings if they are ruinous, and prevent ruines. For avoyding suspicion they shal not admitt into thyer companie lay persons, especially women. Let there be seldom access of the first, but never anie of the last. Nayther let the chaplains wander abroade like men of unsetled carriage; let them flie suspition, and as priests civilly behave themselfes. And prayeth GOD to power-out his blessings on such as observe his statutes An. D. 1265."

The institution was subsequently augmented to six chaplains, by additional endowments, including the living of St. Helen's; the rents however were found insufficient, and in the reign of Richard II., the chapel being ruinous, was put under the care of the sacrist of the cathedral, who was to find a chaplain daily to celebrate mass for the souls of the bishops and all the departed whose bones lay in the crypt, and for all Christian souls. A new foundation was established for the charnel house in the reign of Henry VI., which Habingdon sets forth as follows:—

"W. Hankyns, rector ecclíæ de Ycombe, et W. Hankyns, parson of the church of Ycomb, and John Eddon, graunt, as it seemeth, a messuage and shop with the appurtenances in Wor. scituate in the high street of the same cittie, betweene a dwelling-house wh. was late Richard Oseney's and Agnes his wife's on the one parte, and was not longe since John Grooses, and a farther tenement lately belonging to Agnes who was the wife of Thomas Sampton on ye other parte, in breadth wh. messuages, shopps, chambers, sellers and gardens with thyer appurtenances, do reach and extende fro' the streete aforesaid unto the garden wh. was lately the said Richard's and his wife's Agnes, in length as the metes and bounds declare. And also one selar, builded of stone, wh. is under a tenement yt was late one Thomas Norton's in the Broad streete, all wh. were lately granted by the guifte of Sr Rafe Botiler, lord of Sudeley, Knight, John Glocester, clerke of ye Pipe, Robert Polleyn of Worcester, John Hayward of Gloucester Thomas Dunstable, chapplains, and John Carpenter, mercer, as in a deed made thereof to us appeareth, to have and to hold the said messuage, shopps, chamber, sellers, and gardens with ye appurtenances to the aforesaid

prior, co'vent and thyer successors for ever to ye use of the office of ye sacrist of ye same cathedrall church, wh. sacrist shall mentayne in the charnel house scituate neer the cathedral church of Wor. one chaplain to celebrate in the same chappell ever and at all times, and wh. chaplain shall be a bachelor of divinitie, and have the custodie of ye librarie and books therein, and wh. chaplaine shall also reade publikely in yt place to all commers once or twice every weeke a morall lecture on the new Testament or according to discretion of ye bp. and shall make a solemne sermon in the cathedrall or at the crosse in the same churchard on every Friday for ever. And the chaplaine shall have a higher chamber and a lower newly builded him at the end of the foresaid librarie, wh. the said sacrist for the time being shall at his owne costs repaire, and the same chaplain shall yearly have ten pounds of the said sacrist, and four yards of cloath to make him a gowne and hood answerable to his degree. And in case yt the said chaplaine will sejorne for his diett with the sacrist of ye church, then the said chaplaine shall be content with £8 of money yearly to be payed him by the sacrist. In witnes where-of we John bp. of Wor., William Vance, archdeacon, Thomas Hankins, John Eddon, John Campyns, and John Salway, have sett our seales to this indenture writing. Dated the last of Septmb. 37 H. 6. The chapter confirmeth it."

At the dissolution of the priory, the charnel-house, with the other possessions, passed into the hands of the dean and chapter, who in 1578 granted a lease of the chapel, with the house or priests' chambers at its west end, to the bishop, whose garden wall adjoined the premises. Roger Folliott, chapter clerk, afterwards became the lessee for forty years, at 6*s.* 8*d.* rental, the dean and chapter covenanting to take all the lead on the charnel-

house, but it seems this was not removed till 1649. In 1626 Bishop Thornborough used it as a hay-barn, and the next notice we have of the place is in Habingdon's manuscript; he says—

"It hath byn very longe neglected yet now of late they remouved the famous grammer schole wh. hath in this our age byn equal with the best in England fro' the place wh. was once the refectorie of ye monks within the colledge of Wor. to this chappell of the charnel-house wh. is without the cathedrall church. And thereupon An. Dni. 1636, they translated fro' the lower north side of the chappell of the charnel-house into the north side of our Ladies chappell in the cathedrall church and there placed under the 2nd window the only monument of this chappell of ye charnel-house wh. was sett-out with symboles of nobilitie, the tombe of an honorable Ladie, in whose coffin of stone lye there her bones covered with ye same, whereon is her portraiture wrought in marble of stature exceeding the ordinarie, her head circled with a coronet, on her chin a wimplet, used anciently by greate persons only, on her breast her right hand being bare, and somewhat lower on her bodie her left hand with a glove on and holding the glove of her right hand, wh. according to the rituals of mariage signifie a maide to be married, for a widow must have in marriage her right hand covered, so this lady was a maiden to be married, it may be to her grave, where I leave her. And because there are no armes on this tombe nor in the chappell of ye charnell-house wh. might declare her familie, I will leave others to guesse whether she were some daughter of the Lord Cantalupe or of Botiler, lord of Sudeley or any other, and when they have roved all day they may perhaps misse thyer marke."

The school was again removed from the chapel to the refectory in 1641, owing to the damps and

noisome smells of the charnel-house affecting the health of the scholars, and then the chapel was allowed to go to ruin. In the parliamentary survey of 1650 the premises are thus described:—

"The charnell house aboves'd is all uncovered, having some old timber which did bear up the cover of lead, which lead hath bin taken away about a year sythence for repaire of the schoole house. Under the said house is a vault, the length and bredth of the room over it, being almost full of dead men's bones and skulls; which charnel-house is worth per annum 6*s.* 8*d.*"

Its walls were then in danger of falling, the interior was overgrown with weeds and rubbish and alder-trees, so as to threaten destruction to the roof of the vault beneath; a part was also used as a workshop for masons and labourers, by whom it was so defiled as to become a common nuisance. There is no account of what became of the premises till after the restoration of Charles II., when the ruins seem to have been in some adverse possession, as an order was made in 1675 to seize upon the same and "that it be divided and set out by stakes to part it from the lord bishop's green and kitchen garden." This was a few days after the death of Bishop Blandford, which seems to imply that his lordship was the adverse holder. In the following year a lease of the premises was granted to the succeeding bishop. The ruins, with the two chambers at their west end, and the gardens

extending to the Severn wall, were described as containing 165 feet in length with forty-four feet in breadth, and as having the bishop's garden on the north side and the first prebend's garden wall on the south. The bishop, in consideration of good services rendered by John Price, B. L. (chapter clerk), released the same premises to him, and the dean and chapter confirmed it thus:—

"Ordered, that upon the determination of this lease of the charnel-house to the bishop a new lease of the said chambers and garden ground, with the appurtenances, together with the free use of the floor of the said charnel-house there for a court before and passage to an intended new house to be built where the said chambers now stand, and upon the ground adjoining, shall be granted to Mr. Price, the chapter clerk, for 40 years, upon the ancient rents and reasonable covenants to repair, with power to take down the walls of the said charnel-house, being ruinous, to the bottom of the windows, and to employ the materials thereof in coaping the said walls and building a new substantial wall to divide the said garden ground from the said lord bishop's green and kitchen garden, with a covenant also not to alter or meddle with the charnel-house vault where the bones lye."

Mr. Price accordingly erected a large new house on the site of the priests' chambers. In 1790 the "charnel-house tenement," which was described as having been formerly in the occupation of R. Bromley, Esq., and then of Ann Lloyd, widow, was leased to John Drew, of Pershore, gentleman, but it is now held by the dean and chapter themselves, and let to Mrs. Marshall. There are no vestiges of

the chapel remaining, but the crypt below, with its contents, is still in existence.

> "The priests are from their altars thrust,
> Temples are levelled to the dust,
> And solemn rites and awful forms
> Founder amid fanatic storms."

And now let us take a glance at the entire north side of the cathedral, being the ancient burial ground or cemetery. Before the present road or street through it was constructed, in 1799, the greensward was crossed only by paths leading from the various entrances to the houses of the inhabitants, to the north porch of the cathedral, and to old St. Michael's church. Those entrances were—first, the "grates," which separated the end of High-street from the cemetery; the lich-gate, by the present Punch-bowl inn; and St. Mary's steps, by Edgar Tower. The houses from the lich-gate to the said steps were in a continuous line. Almost the entire north façade of the cathedral seems from an early period to have been excluded from view by the buildings in the churchyard. The principal of these were the church of St. Michael and the leaden steeple, clochium, or bell tower, which stood close together only a few feet from the upper north transept of the cathedral. Fosbrooke tells us that no large cemetery was anciently formed without an altar to St. Michael, to whom was attributed great

potency over evil spirits and the powers of the air; and for the same reason it is very common to find among old church bells one dedicated to that saint. This may have been the origin of St. Michael's church, or at all events of the choice of its patron saint. My recollection of the little old church will not enable me to assign a date to its architecture or otherwise to describe its appearance beyond what may be seen in Green's engraving, where the church is partly enclosed with a high wall, and having a house or turret attached for the residence of the clerk or sexton. The church was destroyed in 1840, and the present one erected on the other side of the roadway immediately opposite to the old structure.

The clochium, bell tower, or leaden steeple as it was more generally called on account of being covered with that metal, was situated close to the west end of old St. Michael's church and only a few feet from the north-east transept of the cathedral. Some accounts say that it communicated with the cathedral by means of a covered way, and I have seen an old engraving which shows a semicircular arched doorway under the window of the north-east transept, immediately opposite to where the tower stood; but other accounts state that there was space between the tower and the cathedral sufficient for processional purposes. St.

Wulstan is said to have built the bell-tower, but Dr. Thomas, the historian, alludes to a tradition that it was built by King John. Strype says it was erected in the subsequent reign; if so it would agree with the time (1220) when the bells were consecrated by Bishop de Blois;* but there is no certain authority for its date or origin. It was an octagonal tower, with a spire the top of which was seventy yards from the ground; its timbers were "massy and amazed beholders, as being unsawed and polished only with the axe; it was of Irish wood, and for all dimensions the like is not in Europe." Indeed in the early part of the seventeenth century it became the subject of a laudatory poem written by one Thos. Nabbes, a dramatic poet. Local historians say that the bells were taken out of this tower and transferred to the great tower of the cathedral when the latter was erected in 1374, but probably some of the bells only were removed, as in a compotus roll, date 1424, is this item:—

"Sol'm Egidio Smyth p' d'vis ferrament. faciend. p' campanis in magno campanule pendend. xxxiij*s*."

Also in Bishop Blandford's MS. it is stated that at the reformation the four bells in the leaden

* "Magnæ campanæ fusæ sunt sub. W. de Bradewe sacristâ et ab episcopo consecratæ in honore S. Salvatoris et genetricis ejus, et Hautclere in honore S. Joh. Evang. cum pari suo."—*Ang. Sac.*

steeple were taken down and carried away. In one of the prior's books is the following:—

"The scripture upon the iiij bells in the leddon stepull.
The furst bell—Campanas dia serves has Virgo Maria.
The second bell—Cristus vincit, Cristus regnat, Cristus imperat, Cristus nos ab omni malo.
The ij bell—Johannes Lyndesey, hoc opere impleto, Christi virtute faveto.
The iiij bell—Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum.
The clock bell—Thomâ Mildenam priore. En ego campana, nunquam denuncio vana; laudo Deum eternum, plebem voco, congrego clerum. Funera plango, fulgura frango, sabbata pango, excito lentos, dissipo ventos, paco cruentos."

In the manuscript "Chronologia" elsewhere alluded to it is stated that in 1374 (the year when the bells are alleged to have been removed from the clochium into the new great tower) "the sacrist took the small bell of the three then hanging in the clochium and placed it in the new tower as a clock bell." (Frequent mention is made of the clock and chimes, and in 1715 one Atkinson was paid £15 for "painting the terrestrial globe and ye dial," and subsequently Mr. Philothea received £10 "for painting the celestial globe and pedestal.") When Dr. Thomas took his "Survey" there were eight bells in the cathedral tower, having these inscriptions: 1, "God save the king;" 2 (blank); 3 (blank); 4, "Honi soit," &c.; 5, "Richardo Edes Decano, 1602;" 6, "Hoc opus

impleto, JESU virtute faveto;" 7, "Habeo nomen Gabrielis, missi de celis;" 8, "I sweetly touling men do call, to taste on meat that feeds the soul."* It being decided in 1864 to erect a new clock and bells, the old bells were taken down; they were then six in number, one having been stolen while the work of restoration was going on in the cathedral! Two of the six were modern —dates, 1820 and 1830—a third was blank, the fourth and fifth were those which are numbered above as six and seven, and the sixth bore the inscription—"In honore S'ci Wolstani Epi." This is probably an ancient bell, as the oldest that have come down to us bear simply the names of the saints to whom they are dedicated, the tenor or heaviest bell usually representing the patron saint of the church, as St. Wulstan was of Worcester cathedral. This bell, I believe, will be preserved to the cathedral, as indeed it should be when the pecuniary and other advantages derived from the saint's connection with this establishment are considered, not to add the higher motive arising from ancient association. The other bells have been sold, which, at least as regards some of them, is to be regretted.

But to return to the clochium: the bells having

* These inscriptions are corrected from the errors published by Thomas and Green.

been removed, broken, and carried away, in 1539, the clochium was used by the prebends as a wood-house and for other purposes; in 1579 it was leased to Thos. Herle, one of the prebends, for similar uses, reserving to the dean and chapter "the right of wey to the steyers and all other parts of the steeple," for twenty-one years, at a rental of 3*s.* 4*d.* The clochium was repaired in 1611, but its dissolution was rapidly approaching. An order of parliament was made in 1647, to the effect that as certain almshouses (Inglethorp's more particularly) had been burnt to the ground during the unhappy wars, and the sum of £500 (given by charitable people to set the poor at work) had been taken away by force by the enemy, who had also burnt the churches of St. John, Dodderhill, and Castlemorton, the leaden steeple being considered of no use, and only occupied as a wood-house, it was ordered to be taken down, its materials being estimated as worth £1,200. Mr. Robert Stirrop, the mayor, and other gentlemen named, were to apply the proceeds towards the re-edification of the said almshouses and churches and for the use of the poor. In the removal of the steeple some neighbouring houses were broken and damaged. One Birch, a parliamentary man, purchased the materials, which fetched only £617. 4*s.* 2*d.*, as appears by the

accounts duly passed in the county sessions of the peace, Jo. Coventry being clerk of the peace. Of the proceeds, Inglethorp's charity received £113. 3*s.* 1*d.* to repair the houses burnt by the king's forces, £246. 3*s.* 8*d.* was laid out to purchase a revenue, Lady Booth's charity had £20. 17*s.* 3*d.*, and the rest was divided between the churches before-named. Dugdale gives an engraving of the cathedral, in which the clochium appears. It had an octagonal base up to the height of about two-thirds of the cathedral transept, and then sank into an octagonal spire, the faces of which were adjusted to those of the base; there were round-headed windows or openings at the top of the base and also some way up the spire. The building was entered by a round-headed doorway. Cottages connected the clochium with the north wall of the cathedral and the sacrist's lodgings. A loose paper document, containing legal questions addressed to counsel at the time of the restoration in 1660, in one of its items refers to the clochium thus:—

"Birch and his agents pulled down the leaden steeple and took the lead and timber. Birch is a parliament man. Quare, whether I shal procede ageynst the agents of Birch without him, for I must not touch him soe long as he continews a p'liament man."

Being privileged, Birch could not be taken by

process. There is no account of any proceedings having been taken further in this matter. The ruins of the tower and site seem to have been held in some adverse possession till 1675, when the dean and chapter ordered that the ground should be seized upon, cleansed, and secured for their use, and three years afterwards it was ordered that the ruins should be conveniently fitted up for the casting of lead, and the old lead-house or melting-house on the south side of the cathedral to be destroyed. In 1755 the ground whereon the old spire stood was leased to Robert Davis for forty years, with permission to carry away the old ruins. The next mutation took place shortly after in the erection of a house four stories high, with four rooms in each story, and two cellars, a brewhouse with three stories and one room in each story, yard, and garden; the premises then being thirty-seven yards two feet long, measuring from the west wall of old St. Michael's church, and leaving only nine feet space between the said premises and the cathedral for scaffolds to be erected in the repair of that edifice. This house was afterwards assigned over to John Smith of the Tything, and about 1798 Maria Martin became the lessee. It was swept away, together with all the other buildings, in the present century.

Against the east wall of the great north transept

of the cathedral was a building which formed the sacrist's lodging, and was probably on the site of a chapel in Wulstan's days, communicating with the transept by a great Norman arch which has been well restored during the late works. For the sacrist's accommodation and to give him a command of the services in the cathedral a little oriel window was pierced through the wall of the north aisle of the choir into his chamber, and may still be seen in the aisle, from whence also a staircase led up to the chamber. At the dissolution the sacrist's lodgings were assigned to the first prebendal stall, when Dr. Baggard took possession of them. When the survey was made in 1650, Dr. Smyth, the prebendary who had been in residence there, had been ejected and had given place to "John Seaverne, gent.," and the house was then described as having "only a little coal-yard between it and the cathedral churchyard on the north, the late demolished leaden steeple on the east, which he hath for three years (all the other tenants being for only one), in regard of his keeping the library of the cathedral without paying any other rent therefor." The last occupant was Dr. Stapledon, in 1712, when the house was taken down, and the location of prebend No. 1 was fixed in a new house at the south-west of Edgar Tower, as before stated. The site of the sacrist's lodgings was then enclosed

by a wall between the two transepts, and a garden was thus formed, but all this has long since been cleared away.

I have now accounted for the whole of the original ten prebendal houses. Six of these residences have been vacated since the reduction of the number of prebends and the new arrangements whereby the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have assumed the management of the capitular estates. A great improvement has thus been effected in clearing the area around the cathedral. Near the sacrist's lodging was "the fair stone cross," which Dr. Thomas tells us was the usual preaching place, with stone seats for the principal inhabitants, until the cross having been demolished by the Puritans, the place for preaching was thereafter at the west end of the nave. This cross is supposed to have stood on the site of a much more ancient one, which in Saxon days was raised over a white stone monument to Duke Wiferd and his lady Alta. Here St. Oswald often preached, St. Peter's church (the predecessor of the present cathedral) being too small for the multitude. This cross was pulled down to enlarge the presbytery of St. Peter's church. The rectory house of St. Michael's was also in the churchyard; and many other tenements, chiefly of poor appearance, filled up the spaces between the little church and the cathedral. In

one of these, tradition says, the great Lord Chancellor Somers was born, and this is attested by the entries in the register of that parish which record the marriage, in 1648, of the father and mother (John Somers, gent., and Katherine, the daughter of John Seaverne, who is mentioned above as having taken to the house vacated by the first prebend), and the birth of John (afterwards lord) Somers, on the 4th of March, 1650. An interesting entry occurs in the dean and chapter's "liber" for 1681 with regard to this great man, then just rising into fame:—

"That in consideration of the good services done unto this church by John Somers, Esq., barrister-at-law, he is hereby chosen to be and shall be henceforth made use of as one of the standing counsel to assist in the affairs of this church, and shall have the usual annual gratuity."

There was an old dilapidated tenement standing directly opposite the great east window of the cathedral, the property of John Oseland, a merchant of Birmingham, which Dean St. John and the chapter in 1784 purchased for an annuity of £13 yearly paid to the said Mr. Oseland, and the building was pulled down as being obstructive and dangerous. From the great north porch of the cathedral eastward towards the transept was a piece of waste land, some thirty yards long and five yards and three quarters wide, which was en-

closed with a brick wall and afterwards used as a place for burial, 5*s.* to be paid for each interment, one half of which fee was to go to the use of the library and the other half to the sextons. On the other side of the porch a small lodge was built in 1753, which was destroyed in 1865. Near the front of the porch was a place called "the pipe-house," the use of which I have been unable to discover, unless it was a reservoir or conduit. About 1550 it was in the tenure of Wm. Bland and Ann his wife, who dwelt in a wine tavern near and had a stable at the lich-gate. Next to him on the east lived John Compton, clerk, and next again Thomas Wenn, who had an enclosed garden lying under the wall of the bishop's palace and "a little dormer house or —— adjoining to the stable." In 1662, one Samuel Johnson, a doctor in physic, occupied a tenement and garden near the bishop's palace wall, and a few years afterwards appears the extraordinary name of Quirinus Quining, tailor, as living in the cemetery. To be sure that was the century for queer names, another instance of which occurs in the following entry in the cathedral records:—

"To one Rawbone, for bringing 'tres (letters) from Sir Julius Cæsar touching the rectory of Lenchwick and Norton, 3*s.* 4*d.*"

A grove of trees extended round from near the

north porch to the old church of St. Michael, of which the solitary specimen still remaining is a relic. In the seventeenth century great precaution was taken against the erection of objectionable houses in the precincts, and a proviso was made in every lease that the house should not be used as a public house for the sale of liquor, the number already existing in 1697 being said in the bishop's injunctions to be "great and scandalous," and lay clerks and others were not to keep or frequent such houses. A few years previously an order had been made to the effect that as there was a ruinous house and strip of land near one of the prebends' house, it had been considered whether to repair the same or pull it down and turn it into a garden, but "for the avoyding of the dayly felt and groaning inconvenience of clogging the sanctuary with burdensome inhabitants" the latter course was proposed; and in 1720 it was ordered that no prebendal house should for the future be let to any person who kept boarders. This was at a time when in all the parishes throughout the country desperate efforts were made to get rid of the poor by depriving them of cottage or house accommodation; no working man or labourer could migrate from one town to another without a certificate from the authorities that they would take him back if he should become chargeable, nor could any one settle

in a house under £10 rent without giving security. Indeed Sir R. Hide, at Worcester assizes in 1660, declared that if young people would marry before they had got houses they must sleep under an oak! The legislation of Elizabeth and the practice arising therefrom were at once savage and absurd, occasioning great privation to the lower classes and much injury to the morals of society. By the 31st of Elizabeth, cap. 7, no person was admitted to build a cottage unless he had four acres of land attached thereto, except in market towns or cities, or within a mile of the sea, or for miners, sailors, shepherds, foresters, &c., on a penalty of £10; nor to suffer any inmates or more families than one to inhabit therein, on pain of 10*s.* a month.

I have spoken of the "college grates" as having been the principal entrance to the cathedral cemetery from High-street. These were gates, over which was a house or tower crossing the street and continuing the line of houses from Lich-street to Palace-yard, then called Bishop-street. The gate-house was described in the parliamentary survey of 1650 as occupied by Elizabeth Feverell, and consisting of three rooms, a study, and toploft, for which she paid a yearly rent of 8*s.*, being worth 58*s.* In 1710, Thos. Wright, "a glassier," lived there, and afterwards Widow Hall. "The turnpike at the college grate" is mentioned in 1735, as being

made of oak or scantlin; probably the gates had then been superseded by a pike or wooden bar. The house or tower seems to have been removed for the purpose of opening the new road or College-street. The opening of that road through College-yard was first mooted a century ago, and an act (7 Geo. III.) conferred the power to widen, alter, and divert roads and highways in the city of Worcester, but not to take down any dwelling-house or other building (Sidbury gate excepted) without consent of the owner. In the same year terms were offered to the copyholders under the dean and chapter holding houses in the sanctuary which would require to be taken down, yet although the dean and chapter agreed to the plans proposed, considerable delays and difficulties occurred, and increased powers were sought by the acts of 1788 and 1795, it appearing that the trustees had begun to make the new street, but the powers of the old act and the money arising from Sunday tolls levied for the purpose had been found insufficient to finish the work until the last-mentioned act was passed. Under these increased powers the committee of the commissioners of turnpikes settled the price of the interest of the dean and chapter in the two houses at the college grates occupied by Ann Gamidge and Timothy Gillam at £400, which was accepted, and part of the money used for enclosing St. Michael's churchyard, the

other portion to make good the loss of chief rents. The dean and chapter had previously subscribed £100 towards the improvement. A notice of the agreement between the dean and chapter on the one part, and the earl of Coventry, Sir. C. T. Withers, W. Lygon of Madresfield, B. Johnson of Leigh, T. Bund of Wick, W. Baker of Kempsey, Rev. J. F. St. John, H. Wakeman, and T. Parker, trustees, on the other part, for the removal of the tenement over the college grates, appears on the books. The tenement is described as extending four feet beyond the west wall of the gateway over a shop of the widow Gamidge, then in the occupation of E. Lowe, mercer, and also a stone staircase which led up to that part of the premises over the gateway; and Robert Vellers, the silk mercer, who bequeathed munificent charities to the city, lived close by.

The lich gate has been spoken of as another of the entrances into the cemetery, through which corpses were carried for interment. This gate, with house over it, is still in existence, attached to the Punch-bowl Inn. It is a timber-framed structure, affording wide and lofty space for the admission of funeral processions, banners, and torches. There is nothing about the building requiring further notice. Its date is probably the early part of the sixteenth century. The only other ancient entrance to the

churchyard was by Knoll's-end, or Edgar-street and up St. Mary's steps. In 1783 a petition was sent to the dean and chapter to cause the said steps and posts to be removed, and that a roadway should be made for carriages, but this was declined on the score of expense and other inconveniences.

Having now exhausted the records as to the college precincts, the reader may, if he please, accompany me round the limits of the ancient sanctuary—that charmed circle of which the cathedral was the centre—into which, if criminals flying from justice succeeded in entering, a refuge was afforded from the immediate consequences of their crimes, and the avenger of blood was stayed by the protecting ægis of the church. The limits of the sanctuary are described by Habingdon thus:—

"The bounds and limits of the church of S. Marie of Wor. by ye bp. upon the restoring of a guiltie man flieing out of ye gaole and after taken violently by secular hands out of the sanctuary. The limits of the sanctuary begin fro' the great dore of the same church, neere to carnarie, otherways called the charnel-house, by a greate stonewall of our pallace unto the greate gate of the pallace, and fro' thence to the house of John Smith, called John Smitthes-house, deviding the churchyard or sanctuarie fro' the king's highway called the Leech streete of our said churchyard of Worcester, and including all the buildings fro' the greate gate aforesaid even in and unto Smitheshouse, being it selfe scituate on the king's streete, and fro' the same house to ye angle called Stodemeris knoll, by deviding ye streete called Sudbury streete fro' the sanctuarie and inclosing all

ye houses neere the king's said highway fro' the house of the said John Smith even to the angle aforesaid excepting 3 houses in the parish of St. Peter of our cittie. And fro' Stodesmeris knoll to ye greate gate of the priorie, dividing the king's highway called Stodesmeris knoll fro' the churchyard and including all the buildings fro' the said angle even to ye gate of ye priory, and fro the priorie's gate by ye ymbrie, otherwys a chanell neere the walls of ye gardens of the prior unto the greate stone wall seeted neere Severn, and by the said wall including all buildings, gardens, &c., within the said chanell towards the cathedrall church and extendeth it selfe by the said stone wall scituate in Severne unto an other stoone wall reaching fro' Severne to the chappell of the charnel-house, including it, and fro' the charnel-house to the dore of the church, deviding the pallace fro' the churchyard."

Thus the sanctuary included the college yard to the wall of the bishop's palace, the whole length of one side of Lich-street, Edgar-street (then called Knoll's-end or Stodesmaris Knoll), Edgar Tower, by the wall down to the Severn, along the bank of the river, and up again to the modern gate of the old palace near the north porch of the cathedral. In another part of this work I have had occasion to narrate some incidents which happened in connection with this ancient right of sanctuary and the violation thereof by some of the citizens; it need therefore only be mentioned here that the right of sanctuary was not confined to cathedral churches but was accorded to other churches and even to towns and places (as at Bewdley). For a long series of years

it was found to be a practical nuisance and was suppressed in the time of James I. The only remaining instance, I believe, of right of sanctuary exists around Holyrood House, Edinburgh; but a cognate privilege attaches to royal palaces and the residences of foreign ambassadors, in which writs cannot be served.

A few particulars with reference to the line of route around the limits of the privileged circle at Worcester may not be uninteresting. Commencing by the bishop's wall at the nearest point to the north porch of the cathedral, we follow that wall to the gate-way in Palace-yard, originally the entrance to the palace, but now closed. The palace itself was just without the sanctuary, being a royalty of the bishop's own. There is no certain account as to when the palace was originally erected, but the ancient vaulted cellaring and portions of the old walls, including much thirteenth century work, are incorporated with the present building. There was a fair green before the palace, and the head of the see condescended to amuse himself in his leisure moments in a bowling alley close by. "A strong gatehouse containing divers chambers" opened into the street (then called Bishop's-street, now Palace-yard). At the time of the parliamentary survey the palace and grounds were offered for sale and declared to be worth

£40 a year. The street leading from the bishop's gate to High-street was much the same as at present, except that in the last century there was an inn called the Seven Stars next but one to the bishop's gate. Passing by the college "grates," which have been described before, we come to Lich-street, the Saxon name of which denotes the use to which it was applied in the passage of funerals through it to the lich-gate. When this street formed the entrance to the city from London it was a place of some importance, occupied by respectable tradesmen and notable inns, but, when the fiat was passed for the College-street improvement, vested interests had to give way, and not a word about compensation is said in the records, although poor Lich-street must rapidly have dwindled down to what it is now. Still pursuing the line of the sanctuary, we turn the corner of Lich-street into Sidbury, and pass that famous hostelry the Talbot, for many ages the most important inn in Worcester, where justices held their sessions, and priors, with their friends from adjoining monasteries, disdained not to sup; then we move on, and cross the new road (College-street) to the corner of the Knoll's-end (Edgar-street), where the "hospice de la trumpe" (the Trumpet Inn) existed four or five centuries ago. At the corner of Edgar-street and Frog-lane in the last century

was the King of Prussia Inn and the Coach and Horses. The latter adjoined the east side of Edgar Tower and was afterwards pulled down and part converted into a registry office for the Rev. J. Stillingfleet, principal registrar in 1790-1. This office in its turn met with the same fate, and the space is now enclosed with a wall. Leaving Edgar Tower to the right, Castle-lane (now called Castle-place) presents itself, and we proceed by the wall which divided the monastic territory from that of the castle down towards the Severn. This lane or public highway to the river was stopped in after years (when the castle had been converted into a county gaol) in consequence of the gaoler pretending that he had lost some prisoners who escaped by the lane. The remainder of the sanctuary route affords no material for comment.

Chapter VIII.

—o—

LIBRARY—LITERATURE—SCHOOL.

"Old legends of the monkish page,
Traditions of the saint and sage,
Books that have the rime of age,
And chronicles of eld."

MIDDLE-AGE literature has been the subject of many a treatise, but a work like this affords no space for a further consideration of the subject than may be necessary for an exemplification of the materials collected in reference to the intellectual exercises of the monks of Worcester—the books which lined their shelves, their records and writings, school for the training of youth, &c. Education was mainly confined to what was called the "trivium" (grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric) and the "quadrivium" (music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy). Writing was taught by copy-books

called breviales tabulæ; and arithmetic, or rather the compotus, by counters. Lads were first taught the psalter by heart. Next to the cultivation of religious knowledge, which was densely encrusted in fable and legend, the main object of the schools seemed to be the exercise of the highest powers of the mind on the dissection of quibbles and metaphysical subtleties. In fact the dialectic art was made instrumental seemingly for the defence of error rather than the support of truth. Among the great parties of disputants none were more conspicuous than the Realists and Nominalists, the former affirming that the primordial or essential forms of things had a real existence independently of intellectual conception, the latter that they were nothing more than general notions formed by mental abstraction and expressed by words. The merest trivialities—as to the time when Easter ought to be kept, and the most legitimate mode of shaving the head—absorbed the gravest consideration of the church from almost the earliest period of her history. The books most extensively used for centuries were the Golden Legend, or lives of the saints, a rich tissue of fabulous extravagance, and Peter Lombard's Book of Sentences, in which the pupil of Abeillard stated the principal questions then in debate, with the opinions of the ancient fathers upon them; and this latter book was received with such universal

approbation that its authority was deemed inferior to nothing but Holy Writ. Josephus, Bede, and Eusebius, with the Saxon Chronicle, supplied history; and glosses on the books of Scripture were numerous and much read. Ovid, Æsop, and Boethius, were favourite authors. Besides these, libraries were chiefly constituted of copies of the Scriptures, works of the fathers, ancient and modern theologians, grammar, canon and civil law, ecclesiastical and civil jurisprudence, astrology, profane writers, poets, classics, medical works, and philosophy; but the puerile and the marvellous abounded — tales of wonder and prodigies done by saints and knightly champions, and daily interferences with the ordinary operations of natural laws in all parts of the world, and in the most trifling events of domestic life, by a Providence anxious to support some favourite theory of monk against secular or secular against monk.

There is evidence of the existence of a library in the monastery of Worcester as early as the time of Lady Godiva (of Coventry celebrity), who, in 1057, after her husband's death, left the Worcester monks, among several useful articles of household furniture, "the bibliotheca divided in two parts." That was at a time when books were excessively scarce and valuable, when few indeed of the laity and not all the clergy could read or write, and some monas-

teries even possessed but one missal. To show the value set upon books by their possessors, even at a later period than this, I need only cite the following lines written on one belonging to Eleanor Countess of Worcester:—

"And I yt lose & you yt fynd,
I pray yow hartely to be so kynd
That yow wel take a letel payne
To se my boke brothe home agayne.
E. WORCESTER.
Thys boke is one and GODES kors (curse) ys anoder:
They that take the on, GOD gefe them the toder."

Deeds were drawn up for the safe return of borrowed books, and valuable plate was sometimes left in pledge, sureties provided, and witnesses present at the lending or purchasing of books; money also was lent on their deposit. Bishop Wulstan (as we are informed by Hemingus the monk), being studious of the welfare of the monastery, took care that the records of their lands and possessions should be secured in a coffer or chest—the mouldy old documents to be separated from the rest—and bound in two volumes, one showing their original deeds of lands and privileges, and the other the drawings and evidences of what St. Oswald and King Edgar had done in recovering lands unjustly taken from the church. These volumes were kept in the said chest, but copies of them were placed in the library, in case of any of the originals being

lost. In Fuller's Worthies it is recorded that "Adam de Marisco, a Franciscan friar of Worcester, in 1257, furnished the library thereof with most excellent manuscripts," for then began the emulation in England between monasteries which should outvie others for best books. This would probably be the library of the Grey Friars (now the site of the city gaol) and not that of St. Mary's monastery, of which we hear no further till 1378, when a large portion of the cathedral was rebuilt, including the dormitory and library. The doorway which led up to this library is said to be that in the west cloister, near the large door of the dormitory and northward of it. This old library was either a building over the cloister passage or against the outside of the west cloister. If it had been where the ancient records are now kept (in the triforium over the west end of the south aisle of the cathedral) it would scarcely have been recorded that the library and dormitory were rebuilt together. Bishop Carpenter, it is said, erected a library in the charnel-house in 1464, and endowed it with £10 for a librarian. The charnel-house was near the north porch of the cathedral. No mention is made of the reason for this removal of the library, or whether it was a removal at all. The new endowment might have been simply a few books for the use of the priests officiating in the chapel of the charnel-house and

others. By the rules of the establishment it appears to have been an open free library: it was to be open every day two hours before and two hours after nine to any person wishing to consult it for the sake of erudition. An inventory of the books was to be kept, specifying the value of each, and any new book added to the stock was to be immediately chained and entered by its true title in the inventory, and, on the first visit of the bishop, to be certified to him by the sacrist or keeper, and inserted also in the bishop's inventory; the sacrist and master were to collate the inventory on the Friday next after the feast of relics,* and if any book were missing through neglect of the keeper he was to pay the value of it within a month or forfeit 40*s.* above its value, one half to the bishop and the other half to the sacrist, the latter having power to retain the librarian's salary till another book was purchased and the fine paid. By an inquisition held in the cathedral Sep. 17, 1513, it was proved that Prior Mildenham had destroyed the above foundation deed of Bishop Carpenter, although it ought to have been kept by the sacrist in a chest with three keys in the chantry library. In 1635 an order was made—

"That the school-house that now is shall be converted into a library, and a door made thereinto out of the cloister."

* Relique Sunday was the Sunday after St. Michael's day.

Habingdon says that the school had been held in the refectory (probably not till after the reformation); if so, on the removal of the school from the refectory to the charnel-house the library may have been removed from the charnel-house to the refectory. If this supposition be incorrect I am unable to explain the matter further. As however expenses were incurred in the early part of the seventeenth century for repairs done to "the leads over the library and cloisters," this would seem to corroborate Habingdon, though it would not be inconsistent with the library being in the south triforium. The order for opening the door above-mentioned could scarcely apply to the refectory, seeing that the cloisters and refectory already communicated by means of a large and handsome doorway. In 1675 two men were employed to carry books from the old library into the vestry and then into the chapter-house. This was at the instigation of Prebendary Hopkins, who assisted the collection of books by many valuable additions. Fines for absenteeism in the capitular body had been previously assigned towards the expense of fitting up the chapter-house as a library. This was probably the time when that spacious apartment was selected as the future library, for although Green gives the date 1641 he is not to be depended upon; and Nash tells us that "Bishop

Thomas ordered that the money which at former visitations was expended in entertaining the bishops should be laid out in books for the library; he was also a considerable benefactor to the library, the books about this time (1675 as named above) being brought from an inconvenient room on the south side of the church and placed in the chapter-house." Whether this "room on the south side of the church" was the present muniment room in the triforium, or a building between it and the dormitory, does not appear clear. The term "inconvenient" would certainly not have been applied to the spacious refectory. Probably when the scholars were removed from the charnel-house to the retectory in 1641, the library, then supposed to be in the refectory, was removed to the triforium, or some other room on that side of the church, till 1675, when the books and MSS. found a resting place for nearly two centuries in the chapter-house, and were finally removed in 1864 to Edgar Tower—a place by no means so fitting or accessible for the purpose as the chapter-house. The registers and other records, deeds, and documents, pertaining to the chapter, are still preserved in an enclosed room in the triforium over the south aisle of the nave of the cathedral, adjoining the bishop's muniment room. How long they have been deposited there is uncertain, but in 1699 the rooms over the porch

and chapel on the north side of the nave were fitted up for a MS. library and evidence room.

No lists of books in the library, of a very early date, have been preserved. The first instance of books specified by name is in Prior Moore's time, when, in 1518, on his first visit to London after his election, he says "I redeemed a lyttell portuos* lying to plegge† in teames street," 53*s.* 4*d.* That would be £25 of our present money for one small book. Then follows a long list of books purchased, one of which is said to be "delyvered to ye cloyster awmery." This was the "Speculum Spiritualum;" and the aumery, or cupboard as we should now term it, was probably one of those large recesses still seen in the wall of the east cloister, as shown in the frontispiece. Also "a hoole work of Seynt Austen's in prynt delyvered to our library," 50*s.*; a mass book in print, 3*s.* 4*d.*; and the others were manuscripts. This is the first mention made of printing in these records; and as books were then probably becoming cheaper the demand seems to have increased in proportion, fresh life and impulse having been given to letters, books being everywhere sought after, copies compared and corrected, and libraries formed where none had previously existed. The following is the list of books which,

* A breviary; "portiphorium," or book of daily common prayer.
† Pledging books and plate was a common practice.

beside the above, seem to have been supplied to Worcester monastery in 1518 and 1519; at least they are among the entries of that period:—

"I made a newe masboke, beyng at J'HUS awter, cxxij*s. vd.*
A litle boke called an annuall, for beryinge, dirig's, noted.
A sequens boke in ye prior's chappell.
A sawter boke, w't ye ymes (hymns) newe wryt.
A p'cessionall boke newe made and noted.
A pawp' boke wryt by ye seid p'r called a boke of ye ordre.
A p'chement boke the copie of our evidences and chart'rs.
ij claspes of selv'r and gylt to ye p'r masboke in his chappell at W'cet' vi*s.* viij*d.*
A boke of lawe called Archedecon apon ye Decrees vi*s.* viij*d.*
A boke called Donning sup. Sext. viij*s.* ij*d.*
iij boks of schala cæli iij*s.*
Ort's vocabulor' xij*d.*
The Sext. and Clementine, one volume.
The decrees, one volume.
The decretalls, one volume.
Abbott iiij volumes xxxij*s.*
Legenda s'tor' in Englisshe vi*s.*
A boke of Seynt Benett's rewle cu' comentor' ij*s.* viij*d.*
A boke called Constitutiones P'vinciall, Lynwood.
A hoole co'sse of sevyll (Qy. law?) fyve volumes.
ij masse boks of prynt iiij*s.* It. Instituts."

The Scala Cœli was a well-known theological work. The Ortus Vocabulorum was an English-Latin dictionary of the fifteenth century, which in manuscript bears the title of *Medulla Grammatices*, but in the early *printed* editions it is entitled *Ortus* (for *Hortus*) *Vocabulorum*, *i.e.*, the Garden of Words.

We may perhaps conclude from the use of this title that the books or some of them enumerated in the above document were early printed books, and not manuscripts.

When the good prior took his periodical journey to the metropolis a few books were generally added to the long list of spices, jewellery, clothing, and other articles, then procured for the use of the monastery. In 1520 he—

"Bought ye hoole warke of Abbott, xxij*s.* viij*d.*

"Paid for iij books of Seynt Benett's rewle in Englishe ij*s.* vij*d.*"

The "Seynt Benett's rewle" was the rule or regulations to be observed by the Benedictines. Likewise he appointed two monks as "scrutators," to inspect all the household stuff, including "portuos, jornalls, and annualls, and to make an inventory of ye same." "A baggett (pocket?) of leth'r to bare my books in" was purchased for 10*d.* in 1521, as also "a bucke of lawe called Dominicq. sup. Sext." 7*s.* 6*d.* and carriage 8*d.* The prior set great store by his books, and had not long before paid 4*s.* 8*d.* for cloth of gold to cover his mass book and portuas, and clasps of silver and gilt. Also—

"Payd for ye byndyng of ye portuos yt was brot from Rome to London, being Master Weddesbury * left at Rome,

* The previous prior.

vi*s.* viij*d.*; for half a yerde blacke velvit, vi*s.* viij*d.*, and two slv'r clasps gilt, vi*s.* viij*d.*"

Among "c'ten thynges bowte at London" in 1523 were St. Jerome's works, five vols., 40*s.*; St. Gregory's, one vol., 8*s.*; St. Ambrose, three vols., 13*s.* 4*d.*; "a buke of lawe called Herry Boyke,"* one vol., 12*s.*; "Sum'a Su'mar," one vol., 6*s.* 8*d.*; Hostiens (Cardinal), one vol., 11*s.*; "English Cronnacles," 2*s.* 8*d.* In the following year Prior Moore added to these stores three books of St. Bernard's works, 6*s.*; books on herbs and precious stones, and "a litle book of Actus Apostolor' for xvi*d.*" The journey to London in 1526 produced "a lyttull buke of St. Benett's rewle, vi*d.*; two buckes of ye Seaven Sacraments, xviij*d.*; a lytle booke de p'dicacionib's, x*d.*; a boocke of lawe, Petrus de Anckorano sup. sexto, Philippus Franckus sup. sexto, Archidiacon's sup. sexto, Gaberell's Cardinalis sup. Clementine, and Innocent. sup. Decretal'm;" all for 26*s.* 8*d.*; "Filius, two vols., xv*s.*; Frydericus, xiv*d.*; one bucke contayninge thre cownsells, viz., consilia abbat's, consilia ealderm. (? Calderini), consilia lodwycy, xi*s.* iij*d.*" The works of Ambrose and Jerome, above-named, were among the most celebrated and useful of the Latin fathers. In 1528—

* Hen. Boyck, LL.D., flourished in Lower Brittany about 1390.

"Payd d'vrs bookes of lawe, vid., Novella Jo. Andree sup. Decretal., in ij vols., xxiv*s.*; Prepositus sup. caus. et sup. distintionib's, xvi*s.*; Lectura Hostiens (? Cardinal) in ij vols., xiv*s.* iv*d.*; Rationale divinor., ij*s.*; Legenda S'tor. in Anglia, xvi*d.*"

These legends of the saints were as familiar to our ancestors as household words; and another favourite subject of contemplation both among ecclesiastics and laity was the personal appearance of OUR SAVIOUR, the Virgin, the saints, and others, and these legends were carefully copied and preserved in all monasteries. Here is the Worcester version, said to have been copied from some authority bearing date the year 1000; it appears in the book of miscellanies already described; the punctuation is my own:—

"The veraye forme and p'sonage of o'r blessed Lady and alsoe of JE'HU CHRIST. Our blessed Ladye Moder of GOD, in her father Jaochim days dyd lerne Hebrewe; she was apt to lernyng and loved doctrine and lernyng, continued ever her mind about holie Scripture. Her corporall and bodilye labour was in wole, flaxe, and selke. Ther was a separate and dystinct place in ye temple of GOD nye un to the lyft side of the awter where usyd onlie virgins to be at divine serves, and after the serves all returned whome agein except our blessed Ladie, she continually ther tarryde and kept ye awter and temple mynistringe devotely un to the pristys of GOD. She used in her maners or lyff lyttull speeche, prompt obediens cumpenyd w't clene lyvers; she would salute and speke to those as she mette w't owte boldenes, wtowte lawghtur, wtowte turbacion, wtowte anger, but gentilie salutyng them, so that men mervelyd of her eloquens. She had feyer yes (eyes), not full blacke as browne

colo'r, a streyght visage, blacke browes, a meane (medium) nose, a long visage, long handes, long fingers; she was of a mean stature; she contynowde ever in prayers; she dyd were clothe ondyde (undyed) but coloryd by nature; she gave herself to redyng, fastyng, and bodylie exercise, and to all convenyent vertuus ocupacon. When shee was assumpte to heaven shee was lxxij yere of age, and thus it may be counted: shee was vij yere w't her fader and moder, vij yere and halfe she mynistered in ye temple of GOD, six monethes she was in Joseph's howse; in ye xiv yere was her anuncyacon, ye angel Gabriel showd to her the joyes of all ye world. In the xv yere she browght CRYST and w't him in this world shee was the space of xxxiij yere, and after CRYST his ascencion she was in ye house of seynt Jone Evangeliste xxiv yere, which yers holy countyd make lxxij yers.

"Her onlie son JHUS CRIST was of gret vertu, a man so named and soe takyn and reputyd of the Gentiles for a trew p'fett, whom hys discipuls called ye SON of GOD. He did miraculls, reysing dedemen to lyfe and helying and curing all infirmyties. He was a metely tall man pleasande to loke on; hys countynans was such, so wershipfull to all wh. lokyd and behylde hym, both loved him and drede hym; his herr was after the col'r of a rype walnutt, streyght to his yers and fro his yers downwerd as yalow locks sum what bryght spredyng a bowte hys sholders; his herr was shede or divided on hys for hede lyke as wer the Nazareis, which wer never cut nor rownded; he had a playne for hede; his face was w'thout wrynckull or anie diffiguring; the moderate sanguyne and rudynes made hys face feyr and bewtifull; no mann could see noe fawte, nothyr in his nose nor mowthe; he had a thyck or gret berde, soft not shavyd and downwerd shed; he lokyd mekely and quyckly; his yes (eyes) were not fullie blacke but clyre as we counte hasyl yede In hys rebukyngs was ferefull, in his cownselling or geving counsells verie jentyl and humble; of mery countynance, keepyng even gravitie. Ther was noe man ever saw him lawghe, but mony tymes wepe. He was a

semely p'son; his handes wer strayght, his armes goodlie to see; he spake with gravyte ever the trewth, with a vertuos meane. He was in comparison of all men bewtifull."

In the description of St. Bartholomew that saint is said "never to have had his clothes wax old ne fowle; he prayed a hundred tymes by daye and a hundred tymes by night; angels never suffred hym to be wearie nor hongred; he seeth all thinges to fore, he knoweth all thyngs, he speketh all maner of languiges and understondyth them, and he knoweth well what I saye to you, and when ye seke hym yf he woll he may showe hymselfe to yowe, and yf he list not ye shal not fynde hym."

Among other curiosities of Worcester monastic MSS. is the following rule for finding Easter:—

"In Marche after the furst C,
Look the prime where he be,
The third Sonday ever more
Is Ester daye howe ev'r he goe,
And yf hit on that Sonday be,
Recon hit on of the three."

Also the following as to the Eucharist:—

"Zepherin's, papa et mart'r, ordeyned that Cristen people of 12 yere of age and a bove should receive his god (the sacrament) on Ester daye oones a yere. An. D. 244."

One of the greatest additions made to the literary treasures of the monastery was in 1530, as the following list of books purchased in London will show:—

"Op'a Hugonis de S'to Victore, iij vols., xv*s.*
Op'a Bede, one vol., vi*s.* viij*d.*
Hugo Cardinal, one vol., v*s.*
Op'a Willi Parisiensis, one vol., vi*s.*
Poliantea, iij*s.* iiij*d.*
Ricard's de S'to Victore de Trinitate, xvi*d.*
Op'a Hillarii, one vol., vi*s.*
Questiones Dm'e Thome, x*d.*
Op'a Laurencii Justiniani, one vol., vi*s.* viij*d.*
Op'a Ruparti, iij vols., xv*s.*
Pipyne in Genes' ij litle volumes, iij*s.* iiij*d.*
Op'a Basilii, iij*s.* iiij*d.*
Beda de Natura rer'm and [de Scematibus et] de tropis, xvi*d.*
Angelom (?) in regn. ij*s.*
Philipp. p'sbiter in Job, ij*s.* viij*d.*
Op'a Brunonis, one vol., vi*s.* viij*d.*
Op'a Cipriani, one vol., v*s.*
Op'a Senece, one vol., v*s.*
Opustula D'mi Thome in Job, v*s.*
Op'a Fulgencii, one vol., xvi*d.*
Philo Judeis, ij*s.*
ij litle boks of ye statuts of Yngland, ij*s.* viij*d.*
Haymo sup. Ep'las Pauli et Cantica Canticor', ij*s.* iij*d.*
Haymo sup. xij p'phetas, xx*d.*
Haymo sup. Apocalipsis, xvi*d.*
To ye p'son of Seynt Andros in W'cet' for ij ye furst boks of Abbot, xvij*s.*
Ludulphus de Vita CRISTI, iiij*s.*"

It will thus be seen that a large portion of the library consisted of glosses on Scripture, law, the ancient fathers, and lives of saints. The works of Hugo and Ricardus of St. Victor are now justly neglected. The two little books of the statutes were probably "Brito super Leges et Consuetudines

Angliæ," much consulted at that time. But where is the liber of St. Oswald, one of the patron saints of this cathedral? The last purchase of which any entry is made prior to the reformation was in 1533, being "a great bucke of statutes of Yngland from fyrst yere of Edward 3rd till ye parlyment holden after Crystmas, 25th Henry eyght, x*s.*; a great boke of Councils, viiij*s.* iv*d.*; Natura bren. and Magna Charta, ij*s.*; a book of the Passion, ij*s.*" A notable sameness existed in the lists of monastic libraries, as may be expected, and I find that the books of Worcester monastery were nearly all included in the Durham list.

No doubt the ancient library underwent great change in the sixteenth century, shoals of saints, with their fables, legends, miracles, and idle childish wonders, disappearing from the monastic aumbries, to make way for the English Scriptures and the numerous other productions which the printing press was then rapidly giving to society. From 1533 I find no more concerning the library till 1611, when John Babington, son of the then late bishop, presented a number of books left by his father for the use of the dean and chapter and clergy of the diocese, the donor and his heirs for ever to have access to them, and the somewhat ungracious stipulation was made that in case any of the said books were at any time missing the

dean and chapter were to pay double the value of them! Thomas, one of the schoolboys, was commissioned to write a catalogue of the said books, for which, and going to Warndon, he received *2s.* Some dispute seems to have arisen in regard to the matter, as *40s.* was paid "to ye under sheriff for a gratuity to deferr the bringing in of a verdict by the jury empaneld to enquire whether the books were [given by?] the late bishop." In an obituary notice of Bishop Babington it is stated that he repaired the library and bequeathed to it all his books. Ultimately the books were brought in a cart from Warndon. No list of them is furnished. "A great Bible of the new translation, in 2 vols., to Mr. Broughton, *58s.*," appears in 1611. In 1623, letters under the great seal of England were received requesting the dean and chapter to send all books and MSS. of which they had duplicates "towards furnishing of a library in the church of Westminster, newly erected or augmented by the now Lord Keeper." Accordingly in the following year a list appears of the copies sent to Westminster:—

"Augustinus de Cite Dei.
Idem de Verbis D'ni.
Anselmi Varia.
Gregorii Pastorale.
Prophetæ 12 cum Glossa.
Psalterium cum Glossa.

Pauli Epistolæ cum Glossa.
Historia Scholastica.
Vocabularium Biblior. Huberti monachi cui titulas Prometheus.
Sermones Jacobi de Losanna de Sanctis.
Magister Sententiarum.
Determinationes quot libetorum Henrici de Gandavo.
Digestum novum Innocentius in Decretales.
Decretales cum Glossa.
Concordantia discordantium canon.
Breviarium extravagantium Bernardi Papiensis.
Legenda S'torum Jacobi Januensis.
Brito Vocabularius.
Prisciani grammatica."

The number of jurisprudential works, having glosses transcribed, plainly show how essential to the education of the clergy was esteemed the study of the law. St. Austin's "City of God," which stands first on the above list, was the favourite spiritual romance of the middle ages; and, as the transition from devotion to gallantry was in those days very easy, gave rise to the famous old French romance called "The City of Ladies." The "Determinationes" (Gandavo) are now set aside as worthless. Bernard, whose breviary is mentioned above, was a great writer, in high consideration.

Like the cathedral to which it belongs, the library suffered much by the rude hands of the civil war troopers. Aubrey tells us that "Captain Silas Taylor garbled the library, whence he had the grant of King Edgar printed in Selden's 'Mare Clausum.'

I have seen it many times. He offered it to the king (Charles II.) for £120, but his majesty would not give so much; at length," adds the gossiping chronicler, "his creditors seized his effects; I told one of the prebends, but they cared not for such things. I believe it hath wrapped herrings by this time." In 1649, "John Seaverne, gent.," as before shown, occupied the house which had been the sacrist's lodgings, rent-free, on account of his taking charge of the library. At the restoration, in 1660, a few books were purchased for the church services, but there is no account of the then state of the library. Great additions were subsequently made by deans, prebends, and others, stimulated thereto probably after the havoc of the civil wars. The office of librarian was ordered to cease and the salary to be stopped in 1666, when the country was going to ruin through the profligacy of the king and the many calamities which befel the nation, so that the resources of both public bodies and private individuals were heavily taxed; but ten years afterwards this order was repealed, and R. Smith was appointed keeper of the library, at a salary of £4. The muniments were then also carefully collected and a catalogue ordered to be made. Dugdale's Monasticon, in three vols., was purchased in 1675, for £6. 15*s.*; and in the same year sixty-five books were presented to the library,

"the gift of the late right reverend father, Walter, lord bishop of Worcester, which books were chosen out of his lordship's study by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Lamplugh, Mr. Ed. Reynolds, and Mr. Barnabas Oley, prebends of this church, and valued by them at the sum of £50." Nine years afterwards it was ordered that £5 should be paid towards the library by every one who erected a monument in the cathedral. In 1705, through the neglect of the librarian, many books were missing, and it was ordered that he should receive no salary till a catalogue was made, and also an effort to recover the lost volumes. The Rev. Mr. Stillingfleet, in 1740, paid £5 towards a copy of "Liber Jobi" for the library, and R. Grey gave a printed receipt for the same, promising to deliver the book to bearer on receiving *2s. 6d.* more. Dr. Kennicott, in 1764-5, gave a receipt for ten guineas, being the chapter subscription towards the collation of the Hebrew manuscripts. Mr. Griffin, the librarian in 1784, was paid twenty guineas for his "extraordinary trouble in making catalogues of the books in the library, new ranging and regulating the same." In 1811, Bishop Hurd's edition of Addison's works was presented to the library by Mr. J. Clifton, but no considerable additions have been made of late years, and the library is not well supplied with modern literature.

There are now between three and four thousand volumes in the library, including an excellent assortment of theological works, early histories of England, tracts on church history, and cognate subjects. The MSS. include 169 folio volumes and twenty-eight quarto, mostly on sacred subjects or matter of ecclesiastical concernment; but there are some medical treatises and works of the Roman classics; also Wycliff's Bible, written on fine vellum about 1381, Glanvil and Bracton on the laws and customs of England, a great many sermons, the works of Averroes, and portions of Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, Plato, Claudian, Ovid, Horace, Statius, Persius, &c. The illuminated writings of the monks are singularly beautiful, and not long ago a manuscript (mutilated) was discovered here which is believed to be unique in this country, namely, Vacarius' epitome of the Roman law, the value of which is very considerable, only four other copies being known to exist—at Bruges, Prague, Konigsberg, and St. Petersburgh. Then there are dissertations of Masters John of Dumbleton and Anselm, monks of Worcester, on logic and philosophy, and a wondrous narration of a certain lay brother who for nine days was "out of the body" and had extraordinary experiences (see page 46.) A list of all these MSS. was printed by the recent librarian, Rev. R. Sarjeant, deceased, and copies sent to the

principal libraries in the kingdom. It is hoped however that remains so precious will ere long be placed in a more satisfactory position than at present.

Among the literary monks of Worcester whose names have been handed down to us is Hemingus, who, soon after the conquest, compiled with great labour a chartulary elucidating the ancient history of the church, the grants and donations made thereto, and the alienations it had suffered at the hands of the Danes and Normans. A copy of Hearne's edition of this work is in the cathedral library.

Next comes Florence, the Worcester chronicler, of whom, after he had ended his earthly labours, in 1118, the continuator of his chronicle observes:—

"Dom* Florence of Worcester, a monk of that monastery, died on the nones (the 7th) of July. His acute observation and laborious and diligent studies have rendered this chronicle of chronicles preeminent above all others—

"His spirit to the skies, to earth his body given,
For ever may he reign with GOD's blest saints in heaven."

Florence's work was founded on an earlier chronicle by Marianus Scotus, which he continued up to the period of his own death. As the learned editor of

* An abridgement or substitution for Dominus or Lord; and the word "Dan" was similarly employed, being apparently applied to all office bearers or superior monks. Mr. Gough Nichols informs me that undergraduates at Cambridge are still in some documents styled Dominus, and that it means one who is neither baccalarius, nor magister, nor doctor.

Bohn's translation observes: "He selected his materials with great fidelity, industry, and judgment, and is therefore justly ranked next to Bede and the compilers of the Saxon Chronicle among the authorities for early English history; and even on the ground which they travel together, his work, far from being superseded, forms a valuable supplement to them." The work which Florence had performed so well was continued at his death by John, one of his fellow monks at Worcester, and a notice of the chronicle is made by Ordericus Vitalis, a Norman monk, while on a visit to this country, in the collection of materials for his own literary labours. In the course of his journey Ordericus came to Worcester (about 1124), and seems to have obtained much information from the monk John, to whom he assigns the credit not only of a venerable character and great learning, but of being the entire continuator of the chronicle of Marianus, thus ignoring altogether the part which Florence, then dead, had taken in the matter. However this may be (says the above-named editor), the statement of Ordericus, possibly originating in a slip of his memory or his pen, can hardly be allowed to cast a shadow of doubt on the genuineness of the chronicle, as being the work of Florence, when it is weighed against the direct testimony of his brother monk of the same house, writing on the spot, and immediately

after his death. With respect to the authorship of the first continuation of Florence, there is internal evidence that it was compiled by a monk of Worcester named John, who was contemporary with the events he records. One of these circumstances is sufficiently indicated by an entry under the year 1138, in which the writer says:

> "Be John corrected if there aught occur
> In which the reader finds his pages err."

That he was contemporary with the occurrences he relates is proved by the manner in which he paints the fearful scenes that occurred during an assault on Worcester by the partisans of the Empress Maud. John was therefore undoubtedly the continuator of Florence, but it is to be regretted that so little is known of either. The historians, like the architects of those days, took little pains to perpetuate their names with their work. Was the monk just alluded to John Lawerne, whose famous book of collections, preserved in the Bodleian, is mentioned in the appendix to Hearne's "Hemingus?" After John's death the chronicle appears to have been taken up and continued by the monks of Bury St. Edmunds.

Senatus follows, in the list of learned monks. He was prior of the monastery in 1189, but resigned that office, in order probably the better to indulge

his literary tastes. He wrote the lives of SS. Oswald and Wulstan, a tract concerning the pontifical pall, and a book of epistles; he also left an excellent specimen of his penmanship in a MS. Bible written by him in our cloisters and which is still remaining in the library of Corpus Christi, Cambridge. The MS. is No. 48 in Nasmyth's catalogue, where it is thus described:—

"Nota (ex Balæo* ad verbum desumpta) neoterici folio rejecticio inscripta: 'Senatus Bravonius monachorum Wigorniæ principis Wicciorum urbis præses non ignobilis fuit quæ urbs et Bravonium olim dicebatur. Wigornia nempe civitas est ad limitem fere Angliæ et Walliæ posita, quam ab occidente Sabrinæ flumen alluit. Cænobium illud alioqui clarum, Senatus iste in primis eruditus, bonarum artium cognitione clarius multo reddidit; Rogerus ejusdem sedis episcopus hoc calculo clarissimum illum habuit, tum præterea familiaritate conjunctissimum. In pretio nempe fuit sub Henrico Anglorum rege ejus nominis secundo cognomento Plantageneta anno gratiæ per Christum patefactæ 1170 demumque vitæ suæ finem in prefato cænobio accepit. Hæc biblia scripta per Senatum ut in prologo suo ante canones evangeliorum.' Deest liber psalmorum. Ante canones evangeliorum est tractatus magistri Senati Wigorniensis bibliothecarii de concordia et dispositione canonum, in quo asserit se hunc librum scripsisse ad exemplar alterius Romæ conscripti quem beatæ memoriæ rex Offa ecclesiæ Wigornensi contulisse dicitur: et hinc habitus est iste codex pro autographo istius Senati, cujus ævo caracter et ornamenta libri satis consonant. Post actus apostolorum sequuntur septem epistolæ canonicæ et apocalypsis deinde epistolæ Pauli, et postremo epistola ad

* Baleus was Dr. Bale, bishop of Ossory, who died in 1563. The work in which he mentions Senatus is entitled "Illustrium magnæ Brittaniæ Scriptorum," &c.

Laodicenses, cui manu admodum neoterica apponitur versio Anglicana, in qua nihil video seculo Wicliviano antiquius. Quatuor evangelia quatuor columpnis in eadem pagina exarantur, eo modo quod simul incipiunt desinuntque. Ad finem tabula alphabetica nominum propriorum in S.S. cum explanatione."

From this inscription we gather that the monastery of Worcester, otherwise famous, was rendered much more so by Senatus in his general learning and knowledge of the liberal sciences, Bishop' Roger esteeming him highly on that account and being on terms of familiar friendship with him. Senatus ended his life in Worcester monastery. The Book of Psalms is wanting in the MS. Before the Canons of the Gospels is a tractate or essay by Senatus (called the Worcester librarian), in which he states that he wrote this book from another copy written at Rome, and which was said to have been given by King Offa of blessed memory to the monastery of Worcester. The style of writing and the ornamentation of the book agree with that of the period in which Senatus lived. After the Acts of the Apostles follow seven canonical Epistles, the Apocalypse, the Epistles of Paul, and the Epistle to the Laodiceans. The four Gospels are in four columns on each page. At the end is an alphabetical table of proper names, with explanation. This MS. Bible is in excellent condition, is in modern binding, and there being no fly leaves the note is

pasted on to the inside of the board forming the binding so that it faces the first page of the MS. It is probably on a portion of the old fly leaf, preserved when the book was rebound.

The "Annales Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis" were compiled by a monk of Worcester early in the fourteenth century, and Wharton says that the MS. of those annals which he used in his "Anglia Sacra" was in the Cottonian library (some of the leaves being then missing), and that the author of Annales and Florence are identical in much of their information. Florence however gives far less local particulars than may be found in the Annales, which are carried down to the year 1308.

Besides the above literary monks was John of Dumbleton, who left Worcester cloisters to become prior of Little Malvern, and who, with Anselm, also a monk of Worcester, was known for various dissertations on logic, philosophy, and certain supernatural revelations; likewise John of Malvern, a monk of Worcester, who flourished in 1342, wrote a continuation of "Polychronicon," and has been said by some to have been the author of "The Vision of Pierce Plowman;" and lastly (if Worcester can claim him) William of Worcester, who, towards the close of the fifteenth century, while a monk at Bristol, wrote a history of eminent men who had been educated at Oxford, also "Annales Rerum

Anglicanum," "Polyandrium Oxoniens," "De Civitatibus, Monasteriis, &c.," "Itinerarium de Notabilibus Bristolii," "Acta Jo. Falstoff," "Acta Jo. duc Bedford," and other works, and surveyed the dimensions of many of our conventual churches. There seems to be a doubt as to the place of his nativity, but Corry states that he was born at Bristol.

These biographies bring us to one of the most interesting features of monastic history, by following the monks into their cloister and endeavouring to realise their presence as they studied and wrote —copied old manuscripts, taught the boys and novices, or prepared the accounts of the monastery. Walls and roofs are rich with sculpture, statuary, and figures illustrative of Scripture history, unclouded yet by whitewash or plaster; windows brilliant with delineations of saints and martyrs, kings, priests, and benefactors to the church. One side at least of the cloister is occupied by the carrels, or pews, in which the monks sat at their writings or studies after dinner until evensong. These carrels at Durham were "fynely wainscoted and verie close, all but the forepart, which had carved worke to give light in at their carrel doores, and on every carrel was a deske to lye their bookes on, and the carrel was no greater than from one stanchell (central bar) of the window to another; and over against the carrels, against the church wall,

did stand certain great almeries (cupboards, recesses, presses, and sometimes chests) of wainscot, all full of books." I have before observed that the large square recesses in the wall near the Worcester chapter-house door (see frontispiece) were probably almeries, or aumbries, for the above purpose; and Professor Willis thinks it probable that the little longitudinal slits in the piers between the windows might have been used as cupboards for small articles. The materials used for writing were tablets, a metal style or quill pen, pen-case, paper or parchment, ink and inkstand, chalk, pumice-stone for rubbing the parchment, a punctorium or awl to make dots, a plummet, a weight to keep the parchment down, and a knife for cutting the parchment. In early Saxon times wax tablets were used for writing on, with styles of iron or bone, but vellum superseded wax about the time of King Alfred. Ink was of far better quality than in modern days, soot and ivory black being the chief ingredients, instead of gall-nuts and copperas, with acids, which eat away the paper; but how the penmen in old times managed to keep their ink in solution is a mystery. Mabillon says he found paper books or rolls of the tenth century, but it is doubtful whether any have been discovered in this country of so early a date. A registration of some acts of John Cranden, prior of Ely, in 1320, is

said to have been on paper. Nash, in his account of Halesowen abbey, states that in an original compotus roll of 1351, relative to the receipts and disbursements of that house, occurs the following entry:—

"Et in papyr empt. pro literis et aliis necessariis domus, xij*d*."

Among the monastic records of Worcester there are paper rolls of the time of Richard II., and frequent entries like the following:—

"It. papir emp. p. memorand. cell. vij*d*.; p'gameno p. rot. comps. et al. p. an. xij*d*."

This means "paper bought for the memoranda of cellarius, an officer of the monastery, 7*d*.; parchment for the compotus rolls and other uses, for the year, 12*d*." In 1520 the water-mark on paper was a man's hand, with a rose of six leaves, and stem, issuing from the tip of the middle finger. Barring the rose, this is Messrs. Allsopp's trade-mark of the present day. The Worcester rolls go back to the early part of the reign of Henry III., and are, with a few casual exceptions, on parchment, the skins being sewn together in some of the rolls to the length of nearly forty feet, and for the most part written on both sides. The thread used for sewing, even five centuries ago, is still in some cases stronger than that made in the present day. The

period of Henry III. was when intricacy of character and numerous abbreviations began to prevail, rendering the writings of that time much more obscure and difficult to decipher than in the Saxon times. Legal instruments were usually in the Lombardic, mixed with what was known as the chancery and court hands, while the monks generally used characters to which was assigned the name of modern Gothic, and which seems to have commenced in the twelfth century. Latin was, of course, the prevailing language, but some legal documents, especially in the reign of Edward II., were in Norman French, and occasionally royal proclamations and other matters were in English. The antiquity of the various registers and other books and rolls is described in the introduction to this work; and it is highly instructive, in turning over the leaves of these ancient productions, to note the general neatness and accuracy of the characters, the preservation of colour in the inks, the beauty and finish imparted to the illuminations, the succinct mode of expression and economy of words combined with fulness of detail and minute chronicling of little facts and every-day expenditure. How valuable, then, are these old chronicles as affording the best materials for history! In our cathedrals and monastic structures still remaining we have the embodiment of the faith and hope, the

deep religious feeling—call it superstition if you will—of generations who have been swept away long before us; but for a picture of their domestic and social life, modes of thought, circumstantial evidence of daily habits, and the conditions of common existence, there is nothing like these old rolls and registers. Often, in tracing the characters and noting the mode of expression, I have figured to my imagination the likeness of the writer, and fancied I could see him enclosed in his little pew in the cloister, poring over the parchment till the bell called him to evensong. Likenesses I believe there are in the margins of some of these books, for pen-and-ink sketches abound of monks and nuns, some of which possess an individuality seemingly pointing them out as portraits. Gloomy looking enough, it is true, many of them, and obtuse withal, but others are jovial and bonny faces, like the corbel-heads seen in the north-east transept of the cathedral, and are also here and there enlivened by fancy sketches of fools or jesters. In the majority of cases the figures have sprigs of flowers in their mouths, which, without a close inspection, have the semblance of pipes. The initial "R" in "Registrum," commencing the title of each ledger or register, is illuminated, but in some instances the illumination has not been completed, and only the tracing of the outline by the plummet is seen; in

others the initial has been completed, but the rest of the title-page or heading is omitted. It was, I believe, one of the Benedictine rules that whenever the scriptores heard the bell summon them to prayers they were instantly to leave their task, although perchance in the midst of a delicate and difficult work of illustrative art; but the reason for never executing the usual illumination, and leaving it a blank to this day, can only be explained on the ground of the gradual declension and neglect of art which was obvious in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, independently of causes connected with the reformation. Into that branch of the subject however I have not scope to inquire, and must deal with the monastic productions as I find them. A great variety of design and mode of treatment marks these initial letters of the period last named, the outline being tricked out with flowers, foliage, animals, monsters, and human figures, gilding sometimes introduced, as also the arms of the priory and those of the prior himself; groundwork sometimes diapered, or in lines of red, blue, or black ink, hatched. Many are only in black ink, and although no attempt has been made to introduce other colour, a good effect has been skilfully contrived, the drawings being mainly free, graceful, and artistic. One initial is in white, leaving black ink only in the ground, and a crane-like bird is repre-

sented with its head in a monster's mouth. In some instances the initial R occupies an entire page, and one early in the sixteenth century forms a splendid banner, with a shield, bearing the usual arms and the red and white roses, denoting the happy conjunction of York and Lancaster. Three specimens of the art of illumination are engraved in the frontispiece to this work. No. 1, which belongs to the register of Prior Moore, is considerably reduced in size, being nearly a foot square in the original and occupying an entire page. Its date is 1518. In the upper limb of the R is seen the Virgin in glory and St. Katharine below, with the arms of the prior probably, impaled with those of the priory. The name Thomas Blockley, which appears on it, was that of the draftsman, and there was a monk of that name in the monastery when Prior Moore resigned, in 1535. Turning to the side figures, the lute-player is sitting on a triangular stool, apparently having a bar only and no other seat. The article hanging below is perhaps the case in which he slung his lute when he proceeded on his way as an itinerant musician or minstrel. The man on the left may be a juggler, having however much the aspect and costume of one of the executioners in the engravings of Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493. These travelling jugglers and minstrels were much patronised in convents, that of Worcester

especially, at the date of the writing. The drawing is interesting likewise in its illustration of the costume of the period. Specimen No. 2, which is taken from the register of Prior Holbeche, represents a beech tree held by two figures—clearly a rebus on the name of Holbeche (hold-beech) the then prior (1536); there are the initials "H. H.," and the two angels or cupids were a favourite ornament of that day, but with no meaning beyond ornament, as in arabesque designs, unless indeed they were meant for the prior's guardian angels. This engraving is about one-half the size of the original.

In the time of Prior Moore "Richard Skryven'r" (whether monk or layman does not appear, but he had evidently derived his name from his occupation) was engaged to write the prior's journal—probably the very book from which I have derived such a mass of interesting information with regard to Moore's life. In 1519 the prior "paid to Ric. Skryvenr for writeing of a newe masse boke iiij*li.* ij*s.*, w't vellum xxij*s.* v*d.* and florishing of ye hoole boke and makeinge of gylt letters xviij*s.*; summa, cxxij*s.* v*d.*" Next year John Skryvenr receives 6*d.* for "writynge of a masse of ye fyve woundes" (the five wounds of CHRIST, a mass probably performed on Good Friday). Some years later John Skryvenr received 10*s.* from the prior "fot xv quires wrytt in parte

of my newe jornall," and "for wrytinge in a sawter boke ye ymmes (hymns), v*s*."

The decline in the arts of writing and illumination has been already noticed; and although the specimens which have been given of the date of the sixteenth century are interesting and meritorious they will not stand a comparison with the earlier style of art as shown in many of the manuscripts belonging to the cathedral library, and on which some of the very best artists of the day must have been employed. Of these I am not enabled to present illustrations, but from one of the record books examined by me I produce a photographed copy * of an illumination which, for good drawing, delicacy of execution, gracefulness, and finish, is far superior to the other examples given. It is No. 3 in the frontispiece, and is of the date of 1314; it occurs in a vellum book, in a copy of King Edward's grant of the church of Tibberton to the priory of Worcester. A priest or clerk is represented kneeling in prayer, and a bell above. This may be a rebus on the name of the scribe—if that were Bell or Bellman—but the deed contains no evidence to that effect. As to the other figures, they may have reference to the mediæval legend of a fabulous unicorn, said to have been the fiercest

* The illuminations were photographed by that painstaking artist, Mr. Earl, of Broad-street, and admirably engraved by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, of Derby.

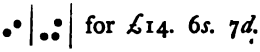
of monsters, which yet became tame when in the presence of a pure maiden, and it was only under these circumstances that it was ever approachable to be killed by hunters. This subject, involving a beautiful allegory, was a favourite one, and is found in innumerable paintings and sculptures.* Or it may refer to some old romance or story of a lady being protected by a monster from the brutal pursuit of a hated libertine. There are however two monsters in the picture—a crocodile or dragon, and a whale, or some such fish. This engraving is not much less in size than the original. All the three specimens of illumination are in black ink alone, except No. 3, in which the initial only is red and the ornamentation black.

The long and minute accounts in the compotus rolls are in general written with much neatness, and in pursuing the investigation one cannot but be struck with the great patience which the scribe or accountant must have possessed in adding up such lengthened columns of Roman numerals (before the present Arabic figures were introduced). The usual mode of doing this was by using a "chequer" or "exchequer" table, covered with a cloth having on it lines for counters, serving for pence, shillings, and pounds, scores of pounds, &c., and the auditor's method made one counter standing at the right on

* See Wright, Archæological Journal, 1849.

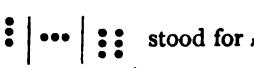
the top of the other counters signify five; if standing at the left on the top, it went for ten. At the bottom of the Worcester monastic rolls may still be seen the almost imperceptible dottings of the auditor, placed on one side, just as a schoolboy puts down the totals of each column preparatory to entering the entire sum in its proper place; thus:—

stands for £1. 10*s.* 8*d.*

 for £14. 6*s.* 7*d.*

for 16*s.* 5*d.*

When the sum amounted to more than £20, the £20 was represented by one dot alone, and the odd pounds in a separate compartment, thus:—

 stood for £32. 3*s.* 6½*d.*

The halfpenny will be seen represented by two farthing dots at the right, below the rest. This custom of counters is taken from classical antiquity, and a similar method is still employed by whist players.

Book-binding was frequently of a gorgeous character, the material being generally white sheepskin, pasted on wood. In many of the Worcester

MSS. unfortunately these boards have long afforded a home for insects, threatening destruction sooner or later to the valuable contents. In a roll of the time of Richard II. is this entry: "In iij pellib's omnis p. bibliis in claustro, iiij*d.* (three skins for books in the cloister, 4*d.*;) and "It. suttetori pro ligatura magni libri in choro, xx*d.*" (to the binder for binding the great book in the choir, 20*d.*) An instance occurs in 1675 of a curious contrivance to fasten a book. It is in John Price's catalogue of sealed deeds of the dean and chapter; in the interior of one of the covers of this book is the following writing:—

"When you shutt this booke take a note of ye contrivance of thes clasps. This claspe must have ye circles turned so yt
for ye upper circle ye · 5
in ye middlemost figure 7 stand directly
which is in ye broadest & lowst 6 towards ye
catch
fixt &
unmovable."

(At the bottom clasp.) "This clasp must be sett
upp least circle at 10
& ye second of middle size figure 7
against the imm —— 6 in ye lower
circle."

The elucidation of this puzzle is now beyond reach, as the clasps having long since disappeared. A lady correspondent, at Lutwyche Hall, Salop, informs me that she has an ancient padlock for fastening

a book, and that it has moveable circles, on which are engraved numbers. These, when the padlock is to be fastened, are arranged at pleasure on a line with a notch, and then turned round so that no one but the person possessing the knowledge of the figures so placed could undo the lock. The lock belonging to the Worcester book must have had three circles, while that possessed by my correspondent has five. Another friend has seen brass money-boxes with dials on the lid on the same principle, and he thinks locks also.

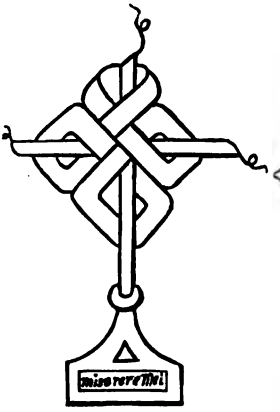
Printing had a large share in producing the decline in the arts of writing and illumination. In the fifteenth century writing got worse and worse and the limners and scribes were brought to great distress. Engraving also—invented in the latter half of the century—gradually superseded illuminations. It is somewhat amusing to note how Roger Ffolliott, the first chapter-clerk at Worcester after the dissolution, or some one in his employ, attempted to imitate the old style of illumination. The effort however was but once made (in 1544), and the result was so ludicrous as to induce the scribe never to repeat it.

In the investigation of the records I have met with many specimens of what were known as "notarial marks," attached to deeds, many of which are of a curious character. The Roman

notarius was a person who took down in shorthand notes or symbols of abbreviation the words of a speaker. In our own country the original business of notaries was to make legal instruments, such as wills, but the attorney and solicitor have now got possession of that part of their business, and in practice their calling is limited to the attestation of deeds and writings for the purpose of giving them such authenticity as shall make them admissible as evidence in other countries, also to make protests of bills of exchange, drafts of contracts and obligations, and take the affidavits of mariners and masters of ships. Attesting signatures by marks was a common practice in the middle ages among all classes and even with the clergy. In most cases it was rendered compulsory by the general inability to write, but this is not to be taken as a rule, for many who could write fell into the practice of making their mark; and, as far as notaries were concerned, of course the mark was an addition to the signature in the character of an attestive seal. The cross was the more usual symbol employed by the general public, especially during the crusades, but there are specimens remaining of a numerous class of curious marks, some enigmatical; others bearing a fanciful allusion to some peculiarity of the writer, his trade, profession, or place of residence; others again of a punning kind, or par-

taking of the rebus. Sometimes the tailor rudely drew a pair of shears, the shoemaker an awl, the butcher a cleaver, the apothecary a bottle, and innkeepers the sign of their hostels. Many specimens contain such elaborate penmanship as to have entailed no small labour on the scribe, and seem to indicate that the professional practice of the notaries at least could not have been very extensive. The examples I have collected from Worcester cathedral records are all notarial, ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century; and from about a score of specimens I select the following as illustrating this literary feature of the middle ages. Nos. 1 and 2—

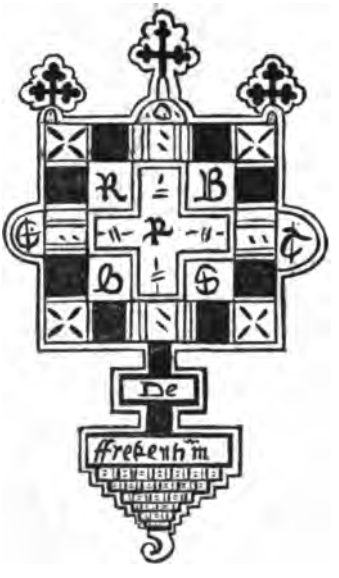
[No. 1.]



[No. 2.]

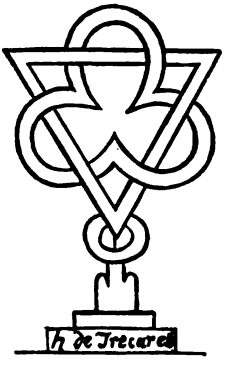
are good adaptations of the cross. The first is the mark of Thos. Edgcombe, public notary of the diocese of Exeter; date 1458. No. 3—

[No. 3.]



the mark of Robert of Feckenham, Worcester diocese, whose Christian name may be seen fancifully arranged in what may be called the tracery of the mark, is also an elaboration of the cross. Sometimes the Trinity was symbolised, as in No. 4—

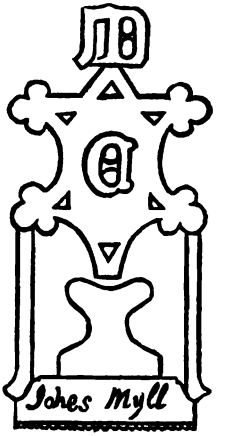
[No. 4.]



being the mark of H. de Trecarell, Exon diocese; date 1459. Nos. 5 and 6—

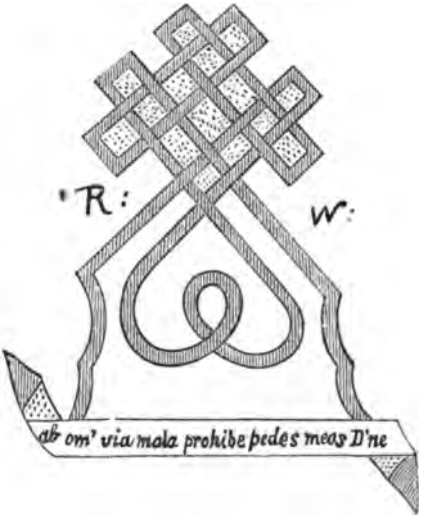
[No. 5.]

[No. 6.]



partake more of the rebus character, the ox's head being the mark of John of Oxon diocese (*temp.* Queen Elizabeth); and John Myll, of Worcester diocese, exhibiting a fanciful drawing of the ancient mill, or quern, with the two upright handles for turning it round.* No. 7—

[No. 7.]



is the mark of Robert Warmstrey, of Worcester, 1587, who must have been coeval with William

* At Castle Coomb, so late as 1556, no tenants of the manor were to "keep in their houses any mill called querns, because they ought to grind at the lord's mill under a forfeit of xxs."

Warmstrey, the principal registrar of the diocese, one of whose sons, Gervase, succeeded him in that office, and another, Thomas, became dean,—a family whose remains lie in the cathedral, near the north door. No. 8—

[No. 8.]

is the mark of Stephen Maylard, who was chapter clerk of Worcester cathedral in 1612. Notaries in the present day impress their private crest on wax, or with a die on the paper or parchment of which the document is composed, adding the signature of their names and designation.

During the civil wars, Worcester being abandoned to the fury of the parliamentary troops, the records and manuscripts, which had just been laid up "in

the great tower over the gate" (Edgar Tower), in the custody of Mr. F. Street, for "putting in order and better preservation," fell into the hands of the surveyors of the cathedral possessions, for at the restoration in 1660 I find an order or warrant for Mr. John Sayer, gentleman of his Majesty's chapel royal, and one of the minor canons of Worcester cathedral, empowering Mr. Stephen Richardson to recover from Anthony Palmer, Henry Hill, and John Mott, the said surveyors, "sixteen ledger books on parchment and divers other records and writings pertaining to the cathedral church." And in the ninth ledger is a—

"Mem. that 18 leaves were taken out of this booke and lost when it was in ye hands of ye committees, and before it was regained by Mr. Barnabas Oley to ye church; so itt conteyneth nowe but 48 leaves.—Richardson, clerk to ye chapter."

In 1665 and at other times Mr. Dugdale received several sums of money from the dean and chapter "for collecting church evidences scattered at London."

In 1750 an order was made—

"That whereas the muniments and records belonging to this church have been carefully collected, it is ordered that a catalogue be made thereof, with such abstracts, indexes, or references to the same, as may render the said muniments and records of most ready use to this church."

On the 6th of February, 1792, it was ordered—

"That the register lodged in the hands of Biddulph, Cocks, and Co., in London, supposed to belong to the dean and chapter, be by the said bankers forwarded to the dean by the mail coach, 10 guineas having been paid for the said book on account of the dean and chapter."

In looking over the loose deeds and documents belonging to the records it is evident that some seal collector has been at work with them, as scarcely any remain, and those are of an uninteresting character. Mr. Burtt, assistant keeper of the public records, called the attention of the Archæological Institute, at its Worcester congress, to the fact that the one example of the seal of St. Wulstan, known to Dr. Thomas, is not now in the collection. An impression of the seal however was exhibited, by favour of Mr. Dixon of York, to whom it belongs. It was attached to a very fine charter, which has been printed in the Archæological Journal.

There is but little further to add in reference to this branch of my subject, except that in 1610 a skin of parchment was charged 6*d.* and a quire of paper 5*s.*

Newspapers are not mentioned in these records till 1764, when a half-year's news cost the dean and chapter 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1768 they were subscribers to "St. James's Chronicle" and "Lloyd's Evening Post." Six or seven years later they took the "Public Advertiser" and "General Evening Post;" and mention is made of an additional halfpenny on stamps in 1776.

The subject of literature naturally includes some account of the school, which undoubtedly from the earliest period of the foundation of a monastery, or capitular body, was carried on here. The earliest mention of a schoolmaster is the name of Hugh Cratford in 1501. Among the injunctions of the archbishop of Canterbury in 1534—when the church began to be set in order by the head of the state—was:

"That one honest and gramaticall man sufficientlie erudite to informe ye junior monks be apoynted, to resyde in ye monastrie & teache them daylie for such tymes as may be rygh and conveyniente."

Henry VIII. refounded the school, for forty boys and naintenance of certain scholars at the universities. This was but a continuance of the monastic systen, under which some of the apter Worcester boys vere sent to pursue their studies at Oxford, the patronage of Overbury having been appropriatel to this purpose by the pope in 1346; but the dan and chapter subsequently compounded for thi liability by the surrender of certain manors and rctories to the Crown. In 1595 the dean and chpter sent a petition to the Crown by Mr. Carrington the treasurer, directed "To the ryght hon. m verie good lord S'r Wm. Veryam (?) knight, lord chef baron of the exchequer," pleading that the dea and chapter should be discharged from

liability to give exhibitions to poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge, and "not to be wasted with continuall suytes as wee have bin of long tyme," in consideration of having surrendered to the late King Henry VIII. the manors of Icombe, Tiddington, Alveston, and the rectories of Dodderhill, Lenchwick, and Norton, whereby they had been discharged from that liability 36th Henry VIII. The final discharge was ultimately granted. The "law's delay" was an evil much more notorious in those days than at present; and with regard to the above-named surrendered manors the dean and chapter had suffered in another way: by King Henry's new foundation the capitular body was to pay the tenth of all their rentals into the Court of Augmentation; and although the aforesaid manors and rectories had been surrendered by them to the king, the tenths were still demanded, after their interests in the property had ceased, and the improved rentals of what had been surrendered had increased from £78. 8*s.* 6*d.* to £400. An impression was at length made on the attorney-general, but it was not till 1553 that the dean and chapter were discharged of the said tenths, amounting to £7. 16*s.* 10*d.* a year, and arrears.

It appears that the work of education just after the new foundation was not being carried on in a way satisfactory to the authorities, for in 1546 the

master, one Mr. Pitcher, received a severe admonition from the dean and chapter "after a former monition when the lord bishop was here." Probably the archodidascalus sympathised with the fallen dynasty and taught "the young idea" more respect for the foreign than for the English pope. Numerous additions of scholars were made that year. About 1555, Roger Golburne was master; he seems to have been succeeded by T. Bradshaw; and from 1591 to 1626 Henry Bright, to whose memory a mural brass is fixed on the wall of the north aisle of the cathedral, near the great porch, though the body lies near the great north pillar of the belfry. This Mr. Bright was a native of Worcester, an excellent preacher, and such a model for schoolmasters, that Fuller, who recorded his epitaph, says—"For my own part I beheld this Master Bright placed by Divine Providence in this city in the Marches, that he might equally communicate the lustre of grammar learning to youth both of England and Wales." Mr. Bright also held the fifth prebendal stall, was a man preeminent in every branch of classical erudition and generally of the highest professional reputation; he was proprietor of a considerable estate, called Brockbury, at Colwall, which I believe is still enjoyed by a descendant. The epitaph on his brass, which eulogises his varied attainments, and services done to the church

and for the cause of education, was composed by Dr. Hall, then dean of Worcester.

In the seventeenth century the scholars were accustomed to subscribe towards the cost of keeping the school clean. In 1611 a woman was paid 4*s.* from the capitular funds "for keeping the schoole all the last yeere, for which the scholars, being but fewe, could not give her sufficient satisfaction." Tradition says that the school was in old time held in the triforium over the south aisle of the nave, but from what Habingdon states it would appear that in the year 1635 the refectory was then, as now, used for school purposes. Probably so long as the monastic system existed the school was in the triforium, and after the ejectment of the monks and the abandonment of a common table the refectory was used as a school. At all events Habingdon says: "Yet now of late they removed the famous grammer schole which hath in this our age byn equal with the best in England (referring, no doubt, to Mr. Bright's celebrity) fro' the place which was once the refectorie of ye monks within the colledge of Worcester to the chappell of the charnel-house which is without the cathedral church" (near north porch). As to this removal there is an order in 1635—

"That the chapel called capella carnaria shall be fitted up for the school-house and that the school-house that now is

(the refectory according to Habingdon) shall be converted into a library and a door made thereinto out of the cloister, and that, as soon as conveniently may be, part of the house which is now Dr. Steward's shall be provided for the schoolmaster."

In 1641 complaints were made by the friends of the scholars of the unwholesome smells from the human remains deposited in the vault underneath the chapel, then used as the school, and the matter was taken to parliament, the result of which was that the school was removed back to the refectory, where it has ever since remained. John Toy was schoolmaster in 1638; he was the author of a poem entitled "Worcester's Elegy and Eulogy," or a grateful acknowledgment of the benefactions to the distressed sufferers in this city from the pestilence of 1637. He was ousted from his office in the civil wars, and in 1644 Henry Moule was master, and Dr. John Harding in 1649. By the survey books of that year it appears that "Dr. John Hardinge, schoolmaster of the free school, by virtue of his place as schoolmaster, as formerly all schoolmasters have had, holdeth one mansion-house situate in the precincts of the college, having the melting-house on the west and the green on the north." John Meddows was master in 1659; but John Toye, the former master, was restored (with royalty) in 1660, at which time there is an entry of—

"To Mr. Barefoot, who was schoolmaster in Mr. Toye's sequestration, £15."

Mr. Barefoot was probably the under master, and this sum was given him as compensation to retire by the royalists, or else the name was a derisive nickname applied to the master himself. Such names as Barefoot, Bareback, Barebones, and other epithets of contempt, were frequent at that time.

The fabric of the school, as well as the cathedral, had suffered much damage during the usurpation, and in 1660 occurs an entry of—

"Pitch and tallow spent in making several wooden trunks for discharging the water that fell from ye church library and school upon ye vaulted roof of ye cloister, whereby it had been much ruined."

Also Henry Richards, carpenter, contracted to lay up a long beam in the refectory, or school, "with braces and corbels according to art." Mr. Toy died in 1663, and his memory was perpetuated by an inscription near the south door of the nave which characterised him as a man of accomplished erudition, piety, faith, modesty, gravity, industry, and fitness for scholastic duties. In the same year the following interesting letter appears on the records; the person to whom it is written is not named:—

"Rev. Sir,—Upon late information yt ye college school of Worcester is voyd of a master it was my desire to under-

take ye charge, and to yt end I have spoken to Mr. Dean Warmstrie and some of your brethren in London. It is a province which I was formerly versed in, being commended by St. John's College in Oxon to Archbishop Laud, who settled me at Reading, but was forced away by ye incivilitie of that town, with whose faction I could not comply, neither would I resume it afterwards, knowing how much leaven of malice was in ye people. My present request to you is yt you would be pleased to give me your concurrent note, which you may remit by proxy to Dr. Crowther or Dr. Reynolds, and I shall rest, besides my affection to serve your church,

Your obliged frend, to love, &c.,

Lond. May 11, 1664. W. PAGE.

Sir,—I pray direct your answer to Dr. Page, Dr. of Physick, to be left at Mr. Good's, schoolmaster to Merchant Taylors' School in Suffolk-lane."

Dr. Page's application however seems to have been unsuccessful, as Mr. Thomas Stephens was appointed master in the same year. The Rev. John Wright was appointed in 1666, on the resignation of Stephens; but there seems to have been some litigation at this time, as an inhibition appears against Stephens in 1667, yet in 1669 he was apparently reinstated, as a Thomas Stephens was master in that year. Two years afterwards, Philip Perry, a carpenter, was paid £3. 10*s.* 6*d.* "for stuff and workmanship about ye studdy roomes for Mr. Walker and Mr. Horsey in ye college tower." Edgar Tower is no doubt meant, and the two gentlemen were the hypododascali, under masters, or ushers, there having been such assistants in the

school from an early period. An interesting item is given in 1672, of—

"Twelve paires of gloves for ye boys declaiming in ye schoole, 18*s*."

And next year—

"Paid to Mr. Wright, schoolmaster, for the schollers, for their actinge of a playe at Christmas, by Mr. Deane and the chapter's orders, £2."

This was at a period when, by a natural reaction of the national mind, after the puritanic screw had been put upon all amusements, great encouragement was given to dramatic performances throughout the kingdom. The only instance on the records tending to the impeachment of the boys on this foundation is the following in 1677—

"Whereas the worship of GOD at the six-of-clock morning prayers is the lesse solemne and the devotions of the people often disturbed by the late coming and noise of boyes towards the end of the service, it is decreed that all the schollers of the college school shall be reddy everie morning in the said school before the great bell for the said prayers hath done tolling, and thence proceed orderly to the church at the beginning of the said prayers."

And the master and usher were ordered to be present with them, "to awe them unto reverend and decent gestures agreeable to the place and presence they are in, and to keep a roll wherein to mark the absentees, who are to be duly punished." Some years previously an order was made

that the schoolmaster should see to the king's scholars going into church reverently two by two, "doing their reverence towards the east, and the like when they pass out." At the close of that century a considerable laxity evidently prevailed in the management of the school; it was not properly visited by the canons, and Mr. John Wright the master was admonished for "notorious negligence." The following orders were likewise made: "1, that for the future the schoolmaster shall not grant any whole day for play; 2, that he shall never grant any time for play upon a Friday; 3, that he shall never grant any time for play in any week wherein there shall be any holy day." Dean Hickes, with the assistance of Prebendary Hopkins, made other orders for the better regulation of the school; he also, with the chapter, represented to Dr. Levet, the principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, how desirable it was that boys (exhibitioners) sent to that hall from Worcester school should be "solemnly elected at public examinations," and offered to pay the doctor's travelling expenses, or two of his masters, sent here instead of himself, and also to entertain them while in Worcester if they would come. An improvement seems to have resulted from the new regulations, for in 1692, in answer to the bishop's "articles of enquiry," it is reported that —

"The grammar school is well attended by the masters. The method of teaching is somewhat different from that prescribed by the statutes, but such as we suppose will better answer the design of the statutes. The boys are catechised every Saturday."

In November, 1703, Mr. Jones the usher's place is declared void, "he having long since deserted the same; and ordered, that no schoolmaster or usher for ye future be admitted but in annum probat'ois tantum (one year's trial), as minor canons and lay clerks are." The Mr. Wright last-named continued head master for many years, probably till 1707, when the Rev. W. Betterley was appointed; and on the death of the latter, in 1733, the Rev. T. Miles succeeded him as master and librarian. During his tenure of office the following rules were adopted:—

"That parents do suffer their children to be corrected for their faults, and forbear coming to the school on such occasions that the masters may not be discouraged. That none of the children do presume to come to any person to ask a play without the master's leave, and that no play be given until he have first been advised with."

Mr. Miles was followed in 1739 by the Rev. G. Wilson, who also held the rectory of St. Clement's. Mr. Wilson was acquainted with Dr. Bentley, who greatly respected him for his learning. He was buried in St. Helen's church, and on his tomb was "Sable, a wolf salient, three mullets in chief or, and, for a crest, on a wreath, a demi-wolf issuing."

It is on the authority of Nash that I place Mr. Wilson on the list of masters of this school. Nash says he was master of the "free school," which term he would scarcely have applied to any other foundation; yet I know not how to reconcile this with an entry of the appointment of the Rev. T. Goodridge, or Goodinge, in 1768, "on the death of the Rev. T. Miles," unless the term "free school" was meant to apply to Queen Elizabeth's grammar school. There is no doubt of Dr. Goodinge having been head master of the college school, and it is recorded of him that he raised it from a declining condition to one of respectability, but we shall by and by see how far this agrees with the records I have met with.

To give an instance of the different ideas now prevailing with reference to the hours of labour, or occupation, as compared with those of the last century, it may be stated that in 1771 the hours for the master to be in the school were from seven till twelve in the morning, except an hour allowed for breakfast, and from two till six; in winter, two hours less. In the same year the seats on the north side of the choir, between the pulpit and communion table, were appropriated to the boys of the college school.

We now arrive at a graver feature of the history of the school, namely, an investigation into the

conduct of the masters themselves. In 1775 appears the following entry:—

"Great dissention having arisen between ye two masters of the grammar schoole about the limits of their authority, the dismissing the school, and the fees due to each of them, and they having proceeded to personal violence before the schoolboys, and each of them having complained of the other, the dean and chapter considering it, assigned their duties, ordering the upper master to have superintendence of the whole, and that according to his discretion he remove boys out of the lower school, which is to consist of four classes, into the upper school. The dean and chapter had no idea of any master being so mean as to make a lucrative use of this power, but at all times application may be made to the dean. The dean and chapter having considered the behaviour of the masters, the upper master's confessed neglect of the school hours, and the under master's opposition and violence used to the upper master, are of opinion that they both deserve a statutable admonition, which was then and there given to them and each of them personally."

Probably this led to the resignation of the head master, which took place in the following year, when Dr. Goodinge retired to Bevere and opened a private academy, but subsequently obtained good church preferment. He was an excellent scholar and an impressive preacher. Rev. John Bennett succeeded him as master of the school. This gentleman's tenure of office did not last a year, as he also resigned, and in June 1777, Rev. John Griffin was appointed, and was likewise "permitted to have the use of the public grainery belonging to this church, being the room over the dean's coach-

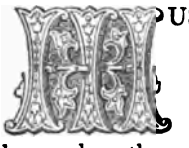
house, the better to accommodate his scholars, and to pay *2s.* a year as an acknowledgment." Mr. Griffin seems to have kept to his post for the long period of thirty-six years, but in 1813 gave way to the Rev. J. Porter. This gentleman was the author of anthems, chants, selections of psalms, and other pieces. He resigned in 1820, when the late Rev. Allen Wheeler was appointed. In 1838 the Rev. O. Fox succeeded Mr. Wheeler on the latter obtaining the living of St. Martin's. In 1852 the Rev. S. P. Denning was elected, Mr. Fox having obtained the rectory of Knightwick. Mr. Denning was master about six years, and was succeeded by the Rev. W. H. Helm, who died in 1859, and at the close of that year the present master, Rev. Maurice Day, was elected.

Chapter IV.

—o—

MUSIC—ORGANS—CHOIRS.

"With flying fingers as they lightsome bound,
From brazen tubes he draws the pealing sound,
Unnumber'd notes the captive ear surprise,
And swell and thunder as his art he plies;
The beamy bar he heaves! the waters wake!
And liquid lapses liquid music make."



USIC was always a prominent feature of monastic services. St. Gregory, we are told, kept a whip, with which he threatened the singing boys when they neglected their lessons. The precentor, or chantor, was generally educated for his profession in the monastery from a child, and his duty was to look after the choral services, distribute robes at festivals, and arrange the order of Divine service. His place was in the middle of the choir, and he taught the monks to sing and read, arranged processions, chastised the boys and novices, re-

paired the books, and held in his hand during service a tabula of bone, a kind of musical instrument,—so Fosbrooke informs us. There was also a sub-chantor, or succentor, who was his deputy. Beyond the early part of the fifteenth century no trace remains of what were the choral services at Worcester. There is among the MSS. a "Missale vetus ad usum Sarum," and here and there the more modern volumes are bound with the fragments of vellum service books, exhibiting snatches of musical notation. One only chord from the voices of ancient harmony erst resounding in our Saxon cathedral has reached us—music, singers, records, and even the building itself, having long been swept away. The following is a translation by the Rev. John Ellerton of a noble hymn, supposed to be older than the eighth century, and the use of which in this country the translator believes, though I know not upon what evidence, was confined to Worcester cathedral during Septuagesima week. Mr. Ellerton says:—

"I call it the Worcester Alleluia to distinguish it from the ordinary 'Alleluia dulce carmen' of the Sarum use, which has now found its way into most modern collections (Hymns Ancient and Modern, 67). To me it seems immeasurably superior to that, and not altogether unworthy of a place beside the matchless alleluiatic sequence which Mr. Neale's version, 'The strain upraise,' has made so popular. The subjoined hymn was used in Worcester cathedral during Septuagesima week, and not, as was customary with alleluia

hymns, a week before. It appears to have been borrowed from the Mozarabic breviary, and therefore is perhaps of Spanish origin, but it is found in two or three German MSS. and I believe in one French breviary. More thinks it older than the eighth century. It appears in two or three recent collections of Latin hymns, but I have never met with an English version of it. So far as I am aware its use in this country was confined to Worcester. The reader will observe how the Alleluia, begun by the church on earth in the first verse, is caught up by the angels in the second, and by them carried to the heavenly Jerusalem, where, as a part of the ceaseless praise of the redeemed, it is offered before the throne of GOD. Occasionally the first four stanzas were used as an evening hymn and the last five as a morning hymn. I have followed the text of Daniel, Thes. Hymn. iv, 63.

" Sing Alleluia forth in duteous praise,
O citizens of heaven; in sweet notes raise
An endless Alleluia!

Ye next, who stand before th' Eternal Light,
In hymning choirs re-echo to the Height
An endless Alleluia!

The Holy City shall take up your strain,
And with glad songs resounding, wake again
An endless Alleluia!

In blissful antiphons ye thus rejoice,
To render to the Lord with thankful voice
An endless Alleluia!

Ye who have gained at length your palms in bliss,
Victorious ones, your chant shall still be this—
An endless Alleluia!

From those exalted lips for ever ring
The strains which tell the honour of your KING,
An endless Alleluia!

This is the rest for weary ones brought back;
This is the food and drink which none shall lack—
An endless Alleluia!

While Thee, Creator of the world, we praise
For ever, and tell out in sweetest lays
An endless Alleluia!

To Thee, Almighty CHRIST, our voices sing
Glory for evermore; to Thee we bring
An endless Alleluia!"

The Normans wished to supersede the old Gregorian service with their own mode, but this innovation was stopped by the bishop of Salisbury, who composed a new ritual known by the name of "Missale in usum Sarum," which was very generally adopted in the three kingdoms. Chanting and sacred harmony were usually kept up by a succession of priests day and night,* and the early introduction of the organ was a powerful auxiliary to these services. This instrument seems to have been imported from the east in the seventh or eighth century, and before the tenth century organs of large size were common in England. What will be thought of William of Malmesbury, who tells us that at Rheims, in the year 1002, was an hydraulic organ, "in which the air escaping in a surprising manner, *by the force of heated water*, fills

* "Porcian's pope and mart'r ordained that psalmes should be said day and night in the churche of GOD, and that a priest should sey Confiteor afore the masse."—Worcester Monastic book.

the cavity of the instrument, and the brazen pipes emit modulated tones through the multifarious apertures." A steam organ nearly nine centuries ago, and the steam engine (barring the claim of the marquis of Worcester) not brought into useful existence till our own day! It is recorded that in 951 Bishop Elfega caused to be made for his church at Winchester an organ which had twenty-six bellows, set in motion by sixty-six strong men, and the wind was passed along forty valves, into 400 pipes, arranged in groups of ten, and to each of these groups corresponded one of the twenty-four keys of each key-board; the sound being heard over the whole town (undique per urbem), as we are told by a contemporary poet. As may be supposed, these instruments were rude in construction and extremely limited in means; the keys were four or five inches broad and must have been struck by the clenched hand; the pipes were of brass, harsh in sound, and a compass not exceeding fifteen notes in the twelfth century, for to accompany the plain chant no more were required. The tone of the pipes of the old builders, or "voiceing" as it is technically called, has never been excelled by later makers, but in mechanism generally the modern instruments are much superior. Then there were the regals, or "pair of organs," played upon the knees of the performer, such as may be seen in paintings of St. Cecilia—

"And whiles that the organs made melodie
To GOD alone thus in her harte sang she."

Hook, in his Church Dictionary, says that the phrase "pair of organs" had its origin probably in the two stops which were common in the smaller mediæval organs. It is possible however that it meant the two organs which, in the middle ages as now, entered into the construction of the larger instrument. These large organs consisted in reality of three or four instruments, each having its separate sound-board and set of keys, viz., 1, the great organ, for choruses and louder passages; 2, choir or chair organ, softer than the former, and used for verse passages and the alternate chant of the psalms; 3, the swell, an English invention; and 4, pedal organ. In the sixteenth century began the construction of those enormous machines for which Germany is renowned, and in consequence it became customary to transfer the organ from one side of the choir to the chancel screen or to the west end. One or more organists were attached to all fraternities of monks, and we hear of an archdeacon playing on one in Saxon times. The earliest mention of an organist in Worcester cathedral records is in 1448—

"To master Daniell ye kep. of organs, xiij monks lofes."

All the officers received rations as well as money,

and "monk's loaves" was a term to distinguish the coarse from the best bread, which the prior and his guests enjoyed. About thirty years later R. Green was the musical chief, his stipend being 40*s.* per annum. In a MS. which I think is of the date of Henry VII. John Hampton, then organist, is said to have instructed the boys of the chapel of St. Mary (Lady chapel, where they probably rehearsed); and about the same date Robert Alchurch, one of the monks, was commissioned to buy organs (in emptione organoru'). In 1527 Daniel Boyce was elected "organ player and singing man," and received but 16*s.* yearly, in four equal payments at the four principal feasts. He, too, had loaves and ale for rations, and a linen gown or toga.

The reformation was not favourable to music; while architecture, already declining, received the *coup de grace.* It is stated, on the authority of Bishop Blandford, that the chapel of St. Edmund, in the great south transept of Worcester cathedral, had a pair of organs, and that of St. George a great pair of organs, but they were pulled down by Dean Barlow in 1550. The great organ (supposed to have been in the choir) was taken down August 30, 1551. The allocation of organs in various parts of the cathedral was to suit the occasional services in chapels and processions. At Durham was a pair of "fayre large organs called 'cryers,' on the north

side of the choir, which were never played on but when the four doctors of the church—Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, and Jerome—were read." In a petition to the "Lord Cardinal's grace," during the temporary resumption of the papal power in the reign of Queen Mary, complaint was made by the dean and chapter of Worcester that "our church is greatly defaced, our queare pulled down, our belles and organes be broken, our altars and chapels are by Hoper (bishop) violated and overthrown;" and petty canons, singing men, and choristers, could not be got for the low wages then given, "all thinges at this present being extremely dear, in such sorte that they are not able to live without some helpe;" and they pray for permission to devote the usual alms money to the assistance of these officials. Shortly afterwards a pair of organs was set up on the north side of the choir. Sir J. Bourne, of Battenhall, a great enemy to the reformation, and a bitter neighbour to Bishop Sandys, in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, complains that "the petty canons served cures, whereby the quire was oftentimes unserved and the service sung in haste; that the singing men were chosen out of such as had little or no skill in music; that divers of them were tailors and craftsmen, served the dean and prebends, and had no other wages; that the pipes of a great pair of organs, which cost £200 in

the making—being one of the solemn instruments of this realm—were molten into dishes among the prebend's wives, and the case had been made into bedsteads." Sir John however was full of malice and untruthfulness, particularly vindictive against the married clergy, and ultimately found his proper resting-place in Marshalsea. In 1590, it is said, Dean Willis, "on the motion of John Tomkins, organist, gave £4 for the old organ of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury," but for what purpose is not stated. The Tomkins family included many famous musicians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thos. Tomkins, who studied music under the celebrated Wm. Byrd 1604-7 was organist of Worcester cathedral and the Chapel Royal (according to a writer in "Notes and Queries"). He was the author of a noble collection of church music entitled "Musica Deo Sacra et Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." The greater part of the service and anthems were written for the chapel of Charles I., and published in 1664, after the author's death. He died in 1656, and was buried at Martin Hussingtree, in this county. (An allusion not much to the credit of Tomkins appears in page 371.) For some years after this I find no mention of musical matters. Puritanism had meanwhile lifted up its voice, and the clergy of the lower house in the province of Canterbury had declared that "synging and saying of masse,

matins, or evensong, is but roring, howling, whisteling, mummyng, conjuryng, and jogelyng, and the playing at the organes a foolish vanity." From the reign of Elizabeth dates the first singing of psalms after Geneva fashion—that is, all the congregation singing together in unison, and the cathedral service was held in abhorrence by many within as well as without the pale of the church. The following is an entry in the year 1611:—

"Given to Mr. Tooke a bast (base) that sung in the quyre all the Christmas at the request of the quyre with consent of Mr. Sub-Deane, 13*s.* 4*d.*"

In 1613, Prebendary Thornhill and two others buy themselves off from residence for a year by giving twenty nobles each towards making the organs. These were new double organs, made by Thos. Dallam. The corporation of the city also gave £20 to these organs, the bishop and dean £20 each, and there was a general subscription throughout the county. The very large sum of £381. 2*s.* 8*d.* (multiplied by eight to represent the present value) was paid to Mr. Dallam for a great organ and "chaire" organ. Respecting this term, some say that *choir* organ was the original designation, but became *chair* when the greater and lesser organs being joined, the organist took his seat between them, having his back to the smaller instrument. Others

assert that "chair" was a corruption or misspelling for "choir." In 1619 appears an item of—

"Paid to goodman Stanton the musitian for playinge on the cornetts in the quire, xx*s*."

The organist and choir petitioned in 1632 for a certain allowance, payable on wheat and malt, urging their depressed condition and the fact that they were engaged "three times a day in the service of GOD, and in common prayer for the king and the whole state of this kingdom, when all the parish churches in the land are silent." It appears that the position of one of the several organs which were then used in the cathedral was at the west end of the nave—a not uncommon position on the continent even in the present day—as in 1642 a payment of 15*s*. 9*d*. was made for the removal of the old organ therefrom into the Lady chapel; and half a century later there was a little organ at the west end, for which it seems there was a separate organist. In the same year (1642) the troops of the parliament took possession of the city, seized a quantity of treasure concealed in the crypt, and did great damage, no doubt including much injury to the organs.

"Mr. Organist's house was ruined by a canon shote when Waller attempted the takinge of the cittie, May 29, 1643."

During the commonwealth, organs were considered

among the vilest remnants of popery and as "squeaking abominations." At a convocation in Bridgwater in 1655 the question was proposed "Whether a believing man or woman, being head of a family, in this day of the gospell, may keepe in his or her house an instrument of musicke, playing on them or admitting others to play thereon?" The answer was: "It is the duty of the saintes to abstaine from all appearance of evil, and not to make pensioners for the flesh to fulfill ye lusts thereof." Organs were therefore generally demolished by an ordinance dated 1644, but it was not carried into effect in Worcester cathedral till July, 1646 (the instruments having probably meanwhile been restored after their first damage or destruction by the troopers), and on the 23rd of that month "many gentlemen went to six o'clock prayers to the college, to take their last farewell of the Church of England service, the organs having been taken down on the 20th." The account of that proceeding is thus narrated in Townsend's Annals:—

"July 20. The organs were this day taken down out of the cathedral church. Some parlaymenters hearing the music of the church at service, walkinge in the isle, fell a skipping aboute and dancing as it were in derision. Others seeing the workmen taking them down said 'You might have spared that labour; we would have done it for you.' 'Noe,' said a merry ladd about tenn yeres old, 'for when the earl of Essex was here the first man of yours that pluckt downe and spoyled

the organs broke his neck here, and they will prevent the like misfortune.'"

In the survey of 1649 "an old house called the singing school, late T. Tomkins's, organist," is mentioned. At the restoration, but few organs could be found in England, and foreigners were brought over to play on some of those which were then erected. To this era of fiddling and irreverent epitaphs may probably be assigned the allusion to Worcester cathedral made by Dineley in his MS.:—

"On ye outside ye quire is the interment of one Merry, an organist, thus inscribed:—

"Here lyes a merry organist pip'd out of breath;
Merry was his life and merry was his death.'"

No sooner had monarchy been restored in 1660 than the Worcester quire petitioned the king for their "salaries left unpaid when they were plundered and undone for their faithful service to the late king of blessed memory in regard of the said warrs and the king's enemies prevailing." Poor Charles! he had not the power, even if he possessed the will, to satisfy a tithe of the claims on the score of compensation, gratitude, and friendship in the hour of adversity, which poured in upon him from all quarters. How the choristers fared does not appear, but in the same year an organloft was fitted up, the gallery organ painted, Turner ye

joyner received £1 "for mendyng pulpitt organs," 1*s.* 6*d.* was paid "for postage of anthems from Cambridge," John Jones 6*s.* 6*d.* for an organ book, and Thos. Harrison had £5 for "coming from London to treat about making a new organ." Whether this negotiation failed, or the name was misspelt for Thos. Harris, of New Sarum, with whom a bond was entered into in 1666 for the making of new organs, is not shown on the books, but about this time there are several entries as to the repair and removal of the old organ, making a little organ gallery in the north aisle, &c. In the Bodleian MS. Tanner 45, fol. 19, is a letter from the bishop of Worcester to Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, interesting, though trivial, as applicable to the affairs of Worcester cathedral:—

"May it please your grace,—Tandem aliquando I present your grace with all the papers that make (and as with humble submission I conceive) are requisite in Mr. Deane of Worcester's defence against Mr. Hathaway's pretences and allegations about the choire organ made and fixt, and the great organ to be made, but now bargained for. And the reason I sent these papers up no sooner was my longing hope and endeavour to have made Mr. George Dallow's testimonie more pregnant and evident touching the promise of Hathaway and Dr. Gibbons to help him to this organ-worke at Worcester, but, to my satisfaction, there is more than probabilitie there had been money enough to have satisfied Gibbons and Hathaway and Talbot, had it been in the dean's power to have made a bargain, they well knew Mr. Deane's (Dr. Warmstrey) utter ignorance in re musica. They knew he was, as it is in the Greek proverbe *ονος προς λυραν*, but no

more skill in an organ than a beast that hath no understanding, and 'tis very considerable that Hathaway should dare to addresse a complaint at Council Board, when for above a whole yeare, Mr. Deane having forbidden him to proceede to the worke of the great organ, he never applied himselfe neither to Mr. Deane nor to the chapter, nor to the visitor, continuing his visitacion for nine months at least, no complaint all this while ever heard of, and for ye materials provided it signifies nothing, unlesse it did appeare they were provided for this organ, when soone after he had made the choire organ he was forbidden to proceed any further. With Mr. Harrison (who was old Dallow's servant and married his daughter) I twice conferred about his testimonie, and he told me he would make good all he said upon oath, and make it good to all the organists in England, and if your grace shall secretly object, old Hesiod's testimonie in ye case, *και κηραμινς κηραμει φθονενει*, an artist malignes his brother artist. I rely very much on Mr. Tomkins' skill, bred in his cradle, and all his life among organs, who is an excellent organist, and has ever maintained an organ in his house, his letter will show what his judgment was before this difference was started. Little reason have I had to interpose in the least in Mr. Deane's case, but I cannot forbear to stand up for innocence, though joined with much follie. I have returned a certificate to his Majestie's instructions about hospitalls, and by the grace of GOD shall returne a full answer to your grace's instructions about church affairs in ye due time. The LORD in the meane time preserve your grace in health and safetie and ye comforts of his blessed spirit. May it please your grace, I am your grace's most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

Worcester, Aug. 5, 1665. RO. WIGORN."

The following were the articles of agreement between Thos. Harris, of New Sarum, and the dean and chapter of Worcester, July 5, 1666:

"Within eighteen months he shall set up in the choyre a

double organ, consisting of great organ and chaire organ. In the former, east and west side, both diapasons to be in sight and some of the principals; two open diapasons of metal, a 10 ft. pipe as at Sarum and Gloucester, following the proportion of 8 in. diameter in the 10 ft. pipe and 4 in. diameter in a pipe of 5 ft. The great organ case to be designed after the manner of Windsor church before the wars, a double prospective, the great pipes on the north and south ranging with the middle columns of the stone arch, and so the next great declining toward the east continually till the smallest in the middle meet within 2 or 3 ft., resembling the diminution of pillars in a prospect, and rising by degrees to that end; the wainscot work on the top resembling architrave, freeze, and cornice, and lessening in proportion at the bottom bases; two principals of metal, two 15ths of metal, one 12th metal, one recorder metal, one place for another stop; in the chaire organ, one principal of metal in front, according to the design of Windsor before the wars, a cherub expanding its wings so as to returne down perpendicular, and that the great pipes shall be in the place of the first and second quills, on the north and south sides, and the rest proportionably less and less towards the cheeks of the cherub; one stopped diapason of wood, one open diapason of wood, having nine pipes towards the bases beginning in are, one 15th of metal, one two-and-20th (as they call it); the bellows, sound boards, and all the timber and iron, as at Sarum and Gloucester, or wh. soever is the fairest; the case of such wainscot as shall be judged by expert ones to equal those of either Sarum or Gloucester. Item, it is agreed upon and concluded, to pay £400 to the said T. Harris, of which £40 earnest money, £80 after setting up the chaire organ case and the lower part of the great organ case, £100 when the chaire organ finished, £100 when the front of great organ is set up, £80 when both perfected; but if the organ should be found not worth the amount it shall be lawful to stop £40 out of the last payment."

Here is Mr. Harris's acknowledgment of the

settling, which seems to have been highly satisfactory:—

"Whereas the reverend dean and chapter of the cathedral church of Worcester, upon view by certain members of the said church taken of an organ built by Mr. Thos. Harrise in the said church, have been pleased to receive such satisfaction concerning ye whole work as to deliver up my bond given unto them for performance of certain articles concerning the said organ on my part undertaken, now I the said T. Harrise do hereby acknowledge that the said deane and chapter have not only paid unto me the full some belonging unto me by the said articles, viz., £400, and also the sum of £4 for a soft stop in ye choir organ, and ye sum of £5 for mending and removing ye old organ, but further the said dean and chapter have hereby given me the sum of £24 above my due, in which I do acknowledge their great kindness and bounty; and I do hereby promise and oblige myself, in confirmation of what I have expressed, in my petition unto them, that I will constantly attend upon the said organ during my life and do all things touching the keeping of it in good order, at my own cost, without any charge to ye said dean and chapter."

The Harris family were organ builders who came from France and soon rivalled the celebrated "Father Smith," a German, who had settled in this country previously. Rimbault, in his history of organs, assigns the Worcester organ to this Smith, which is now shown to be a mistake.

Richard Browne, clerk, was organist in 1662, and lived at Knowle-end (Edgar-street); Tomkins, the previous organist, having been deprived for absence. Browne died in 1664, and was succeeded by Richard Davies, who ten years afterwards was allowed 40*s.*

"for his paines and care in setting the lesser organs in order in the body of the church." In 1671 it was ordered—

"That the lay members of the choir shall, in a respective grateful acknowledgment of their obligation to the minor canons, provide three tuns of coles and a sufficient p'portion of candells for the winter preparatory musical exercises in the lodgings of Mr. Davies the organist."

When Mr. Davies died, his widow was allowed £10 a year, and 40*s.* was paid to his son "to assist in setting him forth to service." Charles Hopkins succeeded Davies, and had 40*s.* a year salary, besides his receipts as chorister; also 10*s.* a year for playing on the little organ, and Rd. Brown 10*s.* a quarter for attending it. A flute stop "in ye chaire organ" had just been added by Mr. Harris, who at the same time repaired and tuned the old organ; and it was ordered—

"That the great organ in the quire be suitably painted at next summer, and that the one moiety of the charge thereof shall be payd out of moneys received for copyhold fines, and the other moiety out of the leasehold fines."

This painting cost the great sum of £40. Subsequently the great organ was "decently adorned and gilded," and carved shields placed over it. Beside the great organ in the choir and the little one at the west end, there was a small organ in the music room. This was probably for training purposes, but where the music room was is not stated.

Mr. Richardson was then the principal organist and Mr. Wm. Davies played the little organ, the former having £5 a year and the latter £3. In 1695, R. Cherington, organist and master of the choristers, and John Thatcher, one of the lay clerks, were excommunicated for brawling and fighting in the cathedral, and after seven weeks' suspension, having expressed contrition, were admonished and absolved. The organist had been previously reported as "lying under some ill reputation for unnecessary frequenting public houses and company acting." "Dick Cherington" was much lampooned in verse by a virulent Jacobite poet of Worcester. Mr. Smith was organist in 1700, with a salary of £8, while £3 was paid for playing the little organ. The organist's house was at the south or east end of the college green, by the side of the path or roadway, but in 1708 it was leased to Mr. Oliver, the chapter clerk, who paid £8 a year, which sum was for the use of the organist. Some years later the house which had been the Coach and Horses Inn, near Edgar Tower, was fitted up for the organist. About the same time a curious item appears—

"Paid D. John for two years killing rats about ye organ loft, £1."

The kind of sustenance obtained by rats and mice in churches has long been proverbial. In

1702 the lay clerks were ordered to wear bands whenever they appeared in the cathedral or city; and in 1708 the bishop ruled that no member of the choir should attend any music meeting for money. This did not refer to the Triennial Festivals, which commenced only in 1720. There is an entry in 1715 revealing considerable laxity in musical matters:—

"That the little organ having not been used for some time past, and having been shamefully neglected when it was used, it is ordered that the salary of £3 per annum, which has been hitherto allowed for the playing upon it, be stopped."

A Mr. Swarbrick, or Schwarbrook, in 1720, received an annual salary of £8 for keeping the organ in repair. Thos. Schwarbrook was a German, who had been in the employ of one of the Harris family as an organ builder, and who early in the eighteenth century left the metropolis and took up his quarters at Warwick; he died about 1750; and there was a Henry Schwarbrook, organist at Hereford. John Hoddinott was elected organist of Worcester in 1724, "and sworn accordingly." A Mr. Davis was at that time the player on the little organ. In the following year John Abbot was elected lay clerk and organist, probably of the little organ, as John Hoddinott did not die till 1731, when he was succeeded by Wm. Hayes of Shrewsbury, while a Mr. Merrefield appears about the same time to have

had an augmented salary as player on the little organ, at £6. Mr. Elias Isaac was elected in 1748, having "served his year of probation," and a Mr. Yarnold was rewarded with ten guineas "for having lately officiated as organist." Mr. Swarbrook was then written to for a new set of keys for the great organ; and in 1752 an order was made—

"That whereas it appears upon experience that £200 formerly agreed on will not be sufficient to add the stops that are wanting in the great organ, and to make it full, perfect, and complete in all its parts, ordered that £100 more be allowed —in all £300, effectually to repair and finish the same."

After thirty years' service, Mr. Isaac, in consideration of his punctual attendance, was also appointed lay clerk. He was the author of two anthems and a canzonet called "The Blackbirds." He remained nearly half a century at his post, and at his death in 1793 was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Pitt (the arranger of Handel's works as anthems for cathedral services), who resigned in 1806, when Jeremiah Clarke was chosen, and had also a lay clerk's place given to him, owing to the insufficiency of the emoluments of organist. He had published some songs and canzonets, and was patronised by Lord Dudley and Ward. Mr. Clarke was organist only for a short time, and in the following year Mr. Wm. Kenge was elected—a highly gifted artist, but afflicted with the frequent accompaniment of

genius—idleness. It is said he would indulge in bed till the cathedral bell had rung, and then rush into the sacred edifice *en deshabille* and with slippers on. After holding office about six years, and being admonished for his neglect of the choristers, he resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Charles Clarke, second son of the Rev. T. Clarke, a minor canon of the cathedral and rector of St. Michael's. Mr. Clarke was distinguished in his youth by a charming voice, of such strength and beauty, that it is said on one occasion, while singing a song from "Marmion" at the west window of Edgar Tower (his father's residence) he was heard and recognised by a friend walking on the other side of the Severn. At the early age of sixteen he was elected organist of Durham, but his home attachments were so great that he afterwards gladly accepted the less lucrative post of organist to the cathedral of his native city, which he held for nearly thirty years, and died in April, 1844. He was surpassed by no organist in expression of the great masters, and in his interpretation of cathedral music generally, while his extemporaneous voluntaries were so full of beauty and refined taste that not one of them was unworthy of publication, and frequently he poured forth strains of the richest harmony. Mr. Clarke however shrank from display, and could not be got to publish. At his death, Mr. Done, the present

organist, was appointed. The existing organ was built by Hill and Co. of London, in 1842, and is one of the largest cathedral organs in England. It was last year (1865) removed from its central position over the choir screen and will now be erected on the north side of the choir, under the second arch from the tower.

This decision was not arrived at until after long and anxious consideration by the dean and chapter, who paid the most courteous attention to all persons giving opinions on the matter. The removal of the instrument from the screen which divided the choir from the nave, and thereby giving an unimpeded view of the cathedral from east to west, has met with general approbation; but there is much diversity of opinion as to the new site selected. The writer would have greatly preferred to see the beautiful Early English piers and arches of the choir unobstructed by any *impedimenta* whatever, and the organ erected in the great south transept, where there was no beauty to hide, where the instrument might have been raised in proper form and ample scope would have been afforded for the conveyance of sound, and where both the regular services of the choir and the occasional ones of the nave, together with those of the Musical Festivals, might have been subserved by the same arrangement.

While on the subject of music it should be stated that among the loose papers is a printed receipt, signed by Wm. Boyce, the celebrated composer, in 1758, the year of his election as organist to the Chapel Royal, for the sum of £11. os. 6*d.*, "being the first payment for seven sets of the correct and complete body of English Church Music (early English composers?) which I promise to deliver agreeably to the printed proposals."

Lastly, I cannot take leave of the choir of Worcester cathedral without noticing an extraordinary individual who towards the close of the last century became a member of it, and whose biography was thus alluded to by a newspaper writer long after his decease:—

"Speaking, by the way, of bass voices, I may state that at the close of the last, and commencement of the present century, the choir of this cathedral numbered amongst its members a most eccentric person—in fact he was more than half mad—of whose strange freaks and vagaries many anecdotes are still related by the elder inhabitants of the city. This person was Mr. John Griffiths, a bass singer, standing some six feet three inches in height, with a nobly developed head and most expressive countenance, and an exquisitely modelled and proportioned figure. Nature had gifted him with perhaps the most extraordinary voice ever produced from human organisation—an organ of remarkably pure and melodious quality, but of astounding power, far surpassing in this respect the voice of Lablache. He was elected a member of the cathedral choir somewhere about 1790 or 1791, but his name appears as the principal bass in the advertisements of the Triennial Music Meeting, held in Worcester in 1785, and

again in 1788, in which year, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of August, King George III., Queen Charlotte, and three of the royal princesses, honoured the meeting with their august presence. Mr. Griffiths was a great favourite with the king, and frequently had the honour of singing before his majesty, particularly at the Commemoration of Handel, held in Westminster Abbey, on which occasion he is said to have presented himself in the orchestra attired in a scarlet coat and his throat encircled with a polished steel collar, in which curious guise he sang with sublime effect in that glorious composition 'The LORD is a man of war.' It is supposed that the approval of royalty was the means of causing his partial derangement, by enhancing the vanity engendered by his own estimate of his musical talents and acquirements, and by inflaming a very excitable temperament with ambitious views and desires impossible to be realised; and it is said, whether truly or not I cannot now ascertain, that the king, in order to escape his importunities, commanded his election as a member of the choir of the cathedral of this city, of which, or its immediate vicinity, Griffiths was a native. Soon after his appointment he was singing a solo anthem at the Sunday afternoon service, accompanied on the organ by Mr. Pitt, then organist of the cathedral, when something in the mode of accompaniment displeased him: he suddenly stopped, closed his book with an emphatic crash, and roared out with the full power of his lungs, '*Pitt's wrong! Pitt's wrong!*' The anthem was cut off in mid career, and the service brought to a close without it. One day, as he was walking through the cloisters, previous to the commencement of service, he met the then dean, who accosted him with the ordinary common-places in reference to the weather, which Mr. Griffiths very curtly answered with a brief 'yes' or 'no;' whereupon the dean hinted that he might infuse a little more courtesy into his manner, and append a 'sir' to his remarks when addressing a superior in the church. He replied, 'Oh! very well——SIR!' He thought himself insulted, and he had not long to wait for his revenge. It happened, very shortly afterwards, that at one of the daily services there was no minor canon in attendance to

chant the prayers, and the dean, being the only clergyman present, had to read them. On coming to the LORD's Prayer, Griffiths repeated each petition after the dean, and to each, in a voice of thunder, he appended the unlucky monosyllable which had hurt his dignity, thus—'Our Father, SIR! which art in heaven,—SIR!' and so on throughout the service. Remonstrance would have been worse than useless, as it would only have rendered him more violent and determined. During one of his evening rambles by the Severn side he met the sister of one of the prebendaries—an elderly woman and by no means a beauty. She politely spoke to him, when he took her hand, which he pressed with much tenderness, at the same time casting the most enamoured glances under her bonnet. The lady, knowing the temper of the man if exasperated, merely smiled. Poor Griffiths took this as encouragement of his mute suit, and, before his companion could resist, he snatched a kiss, and, taking the lady's arm within his own, marched her off in triumph to her brother's house, where, after making a profound obeisance, he left her. The lady behaved with the utmost discretion throughout this difficult affair, offering no resistance to her boisterous wooer, which would certainly have led to violence; but on her arrival at home she informed her brother of what had occurred, and the eccentric bass was 'pulled up' for the assault, and sentenced to a short period of imprisonment. The injury he never forgave, and he resented it in two ways. After his incarceration, he would never sing those two verses in the Psalms—'To bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron,' and 'I am so fast in prison that I cannot get forth.' His other mode of revenge was that, whenever he saw the prebendary in question walking in the street, he would steal quietly behind him, and putting his mouth close to that portion of the doctor's wig which was in nearest proximity to his right ear, would electrify him with an uproarious shout of 'FIRE!' and this he repeated as often as occasion offered. On one anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, and once also on the 29th of May, he went to the cathedral with large bows of broad orange-coloured ribbon in

his shoes; and when he perceived any one looking at his singular shoe-ties he would shout 'Orange Boven' as loud as he could bawl, and that was no trifle. He died almost 'in harness.' On the last day of the Musical Festival, held at Worcester in 1821, being Friday, the 5th of October, he was fulfilling his duties as a member of the choral band, when, during the progress of a song by Miss Stephens, now the dowager countess of Essex, he was seized with apoplexy, conveyed home, and died the following afternoon. He was buried in St. Michael's grave-yard, near the north porch of the cathedral, and the then dean and chapter caused a plain flat stone to be laid over his remains, the inscription on which has long since been effaced, and nobody has had liberality enough to renew it. With the exception of a casual mention of the name of Mr. Griffiths in Lysons' history of the meetings of the three choirs of Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester, the sole remaining memorial of this remarkable man, the greatest bass singer, it is admitted, ever heard in England, is a meagre sketch in *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, of October 10th, 1821."

Chapter X.

MONASTIC POSSESSIONS—RIGHTS—CUSTOMS.

"I've noticed on our laird's court day,
An' mony a time my heart's been wae,
Poor tenant bodies, scant o' cash,
How they maun thole* a factor's snash:
He'll stamp an' threaten, curse and swear;
He'll apprehend them, poind their gear,
While they maun stan' wi' aspect humble,
An' hear it a' an' fear an' tremble."

MANORS, tithes, patronage, and other possessions of the monastery, were chiefly conferred by kings, queens, bishops, and noble and wealthy individuals, for special purposes, and for value to be received in the prayers of the religious for the souls of the donors and others. St. John's, St. Michael's, and Sedgeberrow, were given to sup-

* Endure.

ply the table of the monks with provisions. Leyton Court farm, St. John's, a pasture near the manor of Hardwick, called the Hay Meadow, and the Monk's Orchard, belonged to the office of cook. Bevere likewise was the cook's, and there was Kitchener's Meadow in St. Clement's parish. Bishop Roger gave a portion of the profits of St. Helen's church to provide food for the monks and the other portion to the use of the sacrist. Lands at Wolverley and Blackwell were likewise assigned for the monks' dining feasts. Of five marks paid from Wolverley, three went to the chamberlain and two to the chantor. In the thirteenth century the great controversy respecting St. Helen's church terminated in the bishop giving all the profits of the church on the west side of the Severn for the better keeping of hospitality by the monks, while the bishop had the profits on the east side. There were in St. John's parish the Prior's Fields and Pittensaries' Farm, the latter denoting by its name that it belonged to the office of pittancer. It is still known by that name, and part at least occupied by Colonel Meredith. And there is likewise Sexton's Croft in that parish. John D'Abitot gave to eleemosinarius his tithes in D'Abitot Lawern for the use of the poor. "Almoner's farm in the manor of Lawern," St. John's, is mentioned, and a mill on Lawern brook belonged to the

almoner. Besides these, Iccomb, Ankerdine, Timberdine, and Shurnake, were all given to assist the operations of the same officer. Bromsgrove was given to the prior and convent by King Henry (fil. Johannis), ten marks out of the said church to go to the monks' infirmary, three to the pittancer, and the rest to hospitality and the poor. Bishop Walter de Grey gave the monks the church of Clive, or Cleeve, for the better support of strangers and relief of the sick. There was the Cellarer's Grove at Doddenham, which after the dissolution was called the Dean and Chapter's Grove. Some gardens at Frog-gate, near the cathedral, belonged to the farmerer, and were leased to John Walker, a shoemaker of St. Peter's, in the time of Edward VI. Bishop Henry de Soili gave yearly two marks from the church of Overbury and a half mark from Berrow, one moiety of which was for the better refreshment of the monks in their refectory on the feast of the Transfiguration, and the other on the day of his own anniversary and to be given in alms for the soul's health of himself and predecessors; and Bishop Constantiis granted them 17*s.* for a pittance on the festival of St. Roman, and 3*s.* to provide a light for the church. The patronage of Overbury was appropriated to Worcester priory by the pope in 1346 for maintaining two monks at Oxford. Bishop Maidestone appropriated to the

precentor's office Tibberton church, for the augmentation of his salary, which being about 40*s.* was found insufficient to defray the charge incumbent on his office of copying books, keeping a horse, servant, &c. Bishop Montague gave to the sacrist's use nineteen and a half acres at Upper Wyggeley, in the manor of Kempsey. Stoke Prior fell to the chamberlain, for furnishing vestments and shoes. Wolverley was given by the bishop in 1179 for the purpose of building a tower to the cathedral; and Lindridge was appropriated for providing three more monks and tapers before the shrine of St. Wulstan.

At probably all other monastic establishments the revenues were allocated in the same way, each officer of the monastery having a distinct and separate income derived from special sources. The chief rents or acknowledgments from the lessees usually included something payable in kind; thus the tenant of Mildenham Mills yielded two strikes or bushels of eels on the feast of St. Andrew; another paid on a certain day a red rose, a pound of pepper, some ginger, or a nut kernel. The tenant of Cleeve furnished a boar, Hanbury a foot soldier, and Gower of Woodhall, or Crookberrow, paid a sparrow-hawk yearly at the feast of St. Margaret "for the respite of the homage to be done for half a knight's fee for the said manor." These Gowers,

who also farmed the woods of Himbleton and other lands, seem to have had the care of the prior's hawks, charging regularly for hawk's meat, and Prior Moore enters an item of—

"Paid to Rd. Gower for mewing of my goshawke, iij*s.* iiij*d.*"

This "mewing" was the keeping of moulting hawks in a cage, and Mr. Walcott informs me that the stables at Charing-cross being called "mews" originated from the king's hawks having been formerly kept there.

John Poher gave to the convent his land at Cudley Wood on their paying to him yearly a lamprey.

Among the revenues of the monastery were saddle silver, head silver, "sewte" silver, Christ silver, shrift silver, work silver, storing silver, chicken silver, cheese money, bacon silver, egg money, hen silver, quillets, law woofs, pensions, and pentecostals, or Whitsun farthings. Some of these payments were compositions in lieu of furnishing the article in kind, such as chicken silver and cheese money; suite silver was paid in the manor of Guesten-hall, where the prior's chief court was held, and was probably fee money received for the suites there heard; law woofs may have been something of the same kind; head silver was payable by all above twelve years of age to the lords

of leets, or it may have been the head penny paid by chief mourners as an offering at funerals, but probably the services done by the Shipston tenants will explain the meaning both of the head and saddle silver: the tenants in question were to give during the year twenty days' ploughing and sowing on the prior's lands, four days' mowing, fourteen days' winnowing, carrying the corn from the manor to Wethington, paying 1*d.* for the sale of every beast, grinding at the prior's mill and paying 1*d.* for every quarter malt grinding there, paying to every new prior a fine called saddle silver, and every one above twelve years of age to pay 1*d.* head silver at the view of frank pledge or the prior's yearly court at Blackwell. Christ silver, *alias* shrift silver, was perhaps money received on Shrove Tuesday, when the people confessed their sins and a kind of carnival or merry-making took place prior to the austerities of Lent. Quillets were a composition for corn rents; and with regard to the work and storing silver the following explanation will suffice:—

"The prior claimed for his manor of Wolverley that the custom was for the tenants to carry his donge eyre his lond, repe his corne, mowe his grasse, make his hey and cary the same, for the said works have been used out of tyme that no mynde is, that the said tenants should paie to theyr said lorde yerely a certeyn rent called werke sylver; also he claims that in times past he hath suffered the said ten-

ants to occupy and compaster his bests in their woods and pasture within the said lordship, wherefore the seid tenantes have used of tyme that no mynde is to pay yerely to the said prior for the same a certain rente called storynge silver."

Some of these payments were made upon the font stone of the cathedral; at least it is so recorded in reference to a lease made to George Willoughby, who held the manor of Netherton on payment of *4s. 4d.* at every feast of St. Michael, or within twenty days, upon the said font stone. Great care was taken to ensure a variety of sporting on the various manors for the prior and his friends. Conigree, Coneygree, or Coningry, in St. John's, was charged with the payment of eighty couple of "conings" (rabbits), to be delivered at the priory, and to the convent six couples, at certain times specified, the said prior and convent to have liberty "to kill and carry away coneys as well with bowes as with graunds (greyhounds?) ferrets, nets, and other engines, so that the said prior or his successors be there in their proper persons, and to permit the prior and convent, or such as they shall bring with them, to walk, shoot, and take their pastime there at all times." In all their leases was reserved a liberty to hawk, hunt, fish, and fowl. There is a lease (30th Henry VIII.) to John Combes (may be an ancestor of the John-a-Combe immortalised by Shakspeare) of a messuage and

lands at Stratford, Shottery, and Welcombe, with certain portions of the water in the Avon, "between the water of the lord prior of Worcester and the mill-dam in the holding of John Smythe, Esq., and also fish and fishing, together with the office of the bailifwike and gathering of the rent of the old town, with a fee of xx*s.* by the yere for gathering the said rent." He was to find provender and lodging for the lord's officers at the courts held there twice a year, and for the crier of the court and seven horses; "and if the said Lord Hugh Bishop do ly or make his abode at and in the college of Stratford by the whole year or longer or shorter, then the lord bishop to have the fishing, for which a fair allowance to be made."

Henry III. granted to the prior and convent of Worcester that they should keep the woods they had within the forests of Feckenham and Kinver by their own foresters and bailiffs, and that none of the king's foresters, verderers, or bailiffs, should meddle therewith (hunting therein excepted), and no waste to be committed; the trial of such waste to be determined by justices of the forest and a jury of twelve free men, knights as well as others; the foresters appointed by the prior and monks to take an oath to the king not to destroy his game. The forest laws were notoriously severe: in the reign of Edward I. Richard Pontfrait lay

above three years in Worcester gaol for fishing without leave in the king's pond at Feckenham, and was fined 20*s*. The foresters were an impudent and abandoned race. Those of Feckenham, where the king had the hunting, had incurred his displeasure by their depredations, and he committed them to prison in 1289-90. In the following autumn they insulted the prior of Worcester near Herforton (Harvington) as he was travelling along the road, robbed his servants of their bows and arrows, and sounded their horns on all sides against him. But perhaps one cause of this insult was that the said prior and also the bishop had been trespassers in the forest, and were both fined for it by the king.* In cases of trespass by hunting, or border hostility, the foresters and others used to shout and blow their horns, to bring the country (*i. e.* the neighbouring residents) to their aid. Hence is supposed to have originated the northern border tenure of cornage. It is probable that the bishop and prior helped each other to venison when either party was in need of it, as I find that Bishop Gifford, from his manor-house at Alvechurch, wrote to the prior (close of thirteenth century), requesting that "as he loved him" he was to send some good fat and fresh venison (bona pingui et recente venatione) and also a fat crane;

* See Bishop Swinfield's Roll, xci.

adding the compliment that he should be sorry to eat the said venison without the prior's assistance, and the best sauce he could have would be the august presence of the head of Worcester monastery: "may you be happy in the LORD." Was the right reverend prelate making game of the prior?

Most of the necessaries of conventual life were also obtained from the manors, farms, and other possessions, leased to private individuals with stipulations to pay certain things in kind. Indeed there was scarcely any want which the service of the tenants did not supply for the lord, even to making hot the water and preparing his bath. The quarry at Higley (Upper Arley) was leased subject to the furnishing of as much stone as might be needed for the repairs of the cathedral; timber was got from the woods at Berrow and elsewhere; the tithe of salt at Droitwich was leased in the time of Edward VI. to John Newport for twenty-one years, he paying £7 a year and thirty-two bushels of white salt "according to ye measure of ye bushel used in Wyche;" wheat, barley, and other grain, were paid from the manors which were not situate so far off as to render the cost of carriage an objection, and this was stored in the granaries on the south side of the college green, under the charge of a proper officer. For the coal-mines worked at

Himbleton in the seventeenth century the lessee paid £80 yearly, with two tons of coals to the dean, one to every prebend, and four for the audit. I can ascertain nothing as to the existence of coal mines at Himbleton at the present time. Any tenant of the monastery might assign his estate or farm to whomsoever he willed for one year after his decease, which was called "the dead year," and at his death a heriot was paid, being generally the best beast, or the best piece of goods, or a horse, harness, and arms. The origin of heriots was probably the duty of military service falling on all holders of land, even before the complete establishment of the feudal system. When therefore a tenant died, and his power of performing military duties consequently ceased, the lord claimed the weapons, originally perhaps to give them to the next tenant, for according to the strict theory of heriots the horse and arms had been the loan of the chief, and were to be returned at the death of the vassal, in order to furnish some other adventurer with the instruments of service. After a time, heriots ceased to mean war equipments alone, but included other property as above stated. William de Beauchamp, first earl of Warwick (25 Edward I.) bequeathed his body to be buried in the choir of the Friars Minors of Worcester, to whom he gave two great horses and his arms, thus:—

"Lego etiam duos magnos equos coram corpore meo arma mea, secundum quod decet, portantes, ut prædicto loco, ubi corpus meum sepelitur, remaneant."

By a memorandum of Worcester priory, 9th Henry VIII., it appears that the prior received "off everie vicar or p'son presented by him to a living, at his death, such dewties as here foloweth: D'ns p'r Wig. p'cipiet de quolib't beneficiato p' ipm' factu' in obitu' suo ex consuetudine: in p'mis hys hatt, hys typpett, a tache, hys rydyng gowne, his portuos,* his purse and gurdull, hys rydyng boots w't spurres, a hanger, hys knyffs, hys bedis,† his horsse, saddull and brydull, w't ye harnes."

These payments were mortuaries, originally left to the parish church as a recompense for tithes or offerings neglected to be paid in life-time. The best beast was sometimes paid to the lord of the manor as a heriot, and the second-best to the parish priest as a mortuary. This was called a "corse" present, and was given with the body at the funeral. In Saxon times this tribute paid for the safety of the soul was called "soul-shot," and was recoverable as any other debt.

"Wards of marriage" were also reserved in leases: that is, the tenants could not marry their daughters without first obtaining a licence in the manorial court; and if the girl's father died, the

* Daily prayer book. † Beads or rosary.

lord acted as the heiress's guardian, and when she was fourteen years of age he might marry her to whomsoever he pleased, unless she refused on the score of being above sixty years old, in which case only the lord was obliged to let the old woman have her own way.* This was the real *marchet* tenure, so absurdly made obscene, and was the origin of what was called "maiden rents." In a Worcester court roll of 14th Edward II. is a specimen:—

"Mem. qd. concessit Cristiane filie Joh'is de Hardehull licentiam se maritare ubicumq. voluit et cuicunq. et dat d'no p' licentia ijs."

This 2*s.* licence would now be worth about £2.

The marriage of the daughters of tenants or serfs, by removing the population from a given manor, was presumed to be a loss to the lord, and this is the foundation for the payment termed "merchetum." At Belchamp, we read, "Nullus custumarius extra villam suam filiam sine licentia maritabit. Custumarius filiam custumarii sine licentia domini accipiat in conjugem in villa. Sed custumarius maritabit filiam suam liberis in villa, non extra, sine licentia."

"Free-bench" was the right of the widow in the lands her husband died seised of for her life if she remained unmarried. The prior or dean, as lord of

* Longman's Lectures on History of England.

his manors, also claimed the confiscated goods of all felons in those manors, also deodands, or things occasioning the death of human beings, thus—

"Received £4 of John Greves from his master Rd. Stoakes of Sedgborrowe, for a geldinge, being a deodand due to this church upon the death of Wm. Stoakes, who was killed by the said gelding, and afterwards sold to the said Richard for £4."

Deodands were abolished in 1846.

In a court roll (*temp.* Elizabeth) the jury presented Kenelm Rawley, a poor wretch of the parish of St. Michael, for *felo de se*, and specified the clothes he had on. Their account of the transaction is sufficiently verbose:—

"That the said Kenelm Rawley, seduced by the instigation of the devil, hung himself, voluntarily suspended, suffocated, and strangled himself—seipsum murdravit contra pacem D'ne regine. He had on a fustian coat, a pair of paned hose of cloth, knit stockings, falling shirt-bands, a rapier, a dagger, a girdle, a shirt, felt hatt, all which and his other goods are forfeited to the dean and chapter."

In 1758 the bishop of Worcester made a claim of felons' goods within the whole hundred of Oswaldslow, and the dean and chapter decided to defend their rights and privileges in their several manors as counsel should advise.

Pensions were another kind of payment from manors and churches dependent on the monastery. The provost and scholars of Queen's College,

Oxford, in 1350, granted to the prior and chapter of Worcester and their successors a pension of 20*s.* "in recompensationem congruam fructuum seu emolumentorum, quos tempore vacacionis ecclesie cathedralis solvent, vel debent in futurum percipere, quotiescunque et quandocunque sedem ipsam vacare contigerit, in prioratu Wygornie persolvendam."

Subordinate religious houses paid pensions or acknowledgments to the prior and convent. When the minor houses were suppressed the prior and convent of Worcester applied to the Court of Augmentation for compensation on the score of pensions which till then had been received from the said houses; the nuns of Whistones, for instance, having paid 3*s.* 4*d.* a year. And the application was successful, an order on the receiver having been made for the payments named. Nash says that the reason why pensions were reserved to the priory of Worcester out of appropriations was that the prior, during the vacancy of the bishopric (*sede vacante*) visited the whole diocese and received fees for the same, which ceased to be paid when the living was appropriated, as at Chaddesley, which was appropriated to the dean and canons of Warwick, who had to pay a yearly rent of 3*s.* 4*d.* for the same. These pensions at length became an abuse, for the monks so stripped the dependent churches of their revenue that the officiating priests

could scarcely exist. An instance of this occurred in 1292, when Henry de Antioch, monk and eleemosinarius of Worcester, sued Rd. Michem, rector of Icomb, for that for four years he had refused to pay three marks yearly to him for the use of poor itinerant strangers, as appointed by Bishop Cantelupe in 1239. The defence was that only 20*s.* was due, and it was so settled. St. Oswald's hospital paid as a pension a quantity of wax to the cathedral, which in the seventeenth century was commuted into a money payment:—

"Ordered, that ye pension of 15 lbs. of wax due to this churche from St. Oswald's hospital be changed into a sum of money, viz., 15*s.*, to be paid yearly by ye said hospital and received by this church in lieu of ye said wax."

Pentecostals, or Whitsun farthings, were payments made from all the chapelries to the mother church, the cathedral of Worcester, being a farthing per head for every householder at Whitsuntide. The right of baptism at first specially pertained to the cathedral, and in consequence the pentecostals were paid at Whitsuntide, because the cathedral was originally the only baptistery, and at Easter and Pentecost the rite was administered. By grant of Henry VIII. to the dean and chapter of Worcester he made over to them "all those oblations, obventions, or spiritual profits, commonly called Whitsun farthings, yearly collected or received of divers

towns within the archdeaconry of Worcester, and offered at the time of Pentecost." They were originally offerings at Pentecost, but grew by degrees into fixed payments. A table of the Whitsun farthings payable in every parish in the diocese is given in Dr. Nash's history. In 1649, when the act was passed for selling church lands, the Whitsun farthings belonging to Worcester cathedral were estimated at the yearly value of five guineas, which was an over estimate, for about the same time they were farmed by Stephen Richardson for £3, "and considering the charge of collecting the same, are no more worth." Great complaints were subsequently made of neglect in paying this tribute. The chapter clerk was usually the collector of Whitsun farthings and pensions. In 1705, Mr. Oliver, the chapter clerk, was ordered "to sue for such of ye pentecostals as are now in arrear, and all such as shall at any time hereafter be unpaid;" and in 1722 the churchwardens of the various parishes were threatened to be put into his Majesty's Court of Exchequer if their pentecostals were not duly paid up. In 1775, Richard Clarke, public notary, was appointed collector, for the sum of £3 yearly, and in his patent of office complaint is made that "these farthings, which were due in right of our cathedral church by concession and confirmation of Henry VIII., have been unjustly detained from

us." This tribute has been paid up to the present century, as in 1825 a bill of expenses was incurred in a suit against the churchwardens of Leigh for non-payment of their farthings. Since then the claim has been gradually abandoned.

Bailiffs and collectors were appointed for the various manors, whose rolls of accounts were made up to the feast of St. Michael from year to year. Here is a list of these officers for the year 1521:— Thomas Carter, rent collector for Worcester; John Woddefall, bailiff at Hardewyke; Thomas Moore, bailiff and collector, St. John's; Roger Tovey, bailiff at Broadwas, John Noxon, collector; Nicholas Vicares, bailiff and collector at Tibberton; Richard Daffy, bailiff and collector, Crowle; Thos. Gardener, bailiff, Himbleton; Richard Spellesbury, bailiff, Wm. Noxon, collector, Hallow and Grimley; J. Hereford, bailiff, Roger Penell, collector, for the manor of Moore; Rd. Bury, bailiff, John Foster, collector, Newenham; John à Brearton, bailiff, Rd. More, collector, Nethertown; William Langeston, bailiff, J. Frankley, collector, Sedgebarrow; Edward a Woode, bailiff and collector, Tedyngton; J. Philips, bailiff, William Crowley, collector, Herforton; John Philips, bailiff, E. Philipps, collector, Clyve; Roger Mores, bailiff, Robert Gonne, collector, Shipston; John Mawnd, collector, Blackwell; John Wall, bailiff, William Berdesley, collector, Almiston; William

Parsons, bailiff, W. Crompe, collector, Cropthorne; John Morgan, bailiff, J. Hyde, collector, Overbury; Thomas Joks, bailiff, John Carpenter, collector, Wolverley.

Manorial courts were important and formidable institutions up till a recent period, prescribing law and practice, the rules of morality, and the conditions on which the tenants held and cultivated their lands. They were in fact sessions of the peace, and something more. Offenders against the manorial laws were "presented" at these courts and summarily dealt with. One is surprised at reading of the many affrays which took place in churches and churchyards, but it should be remembered that in rural districts, with a scattered population, the inhabitants as a rule seldom met but once a week, and that the law compelled attendance at the church, which was therefore a parochial trysting place. Fairs and markets were held in churchyards, sports were carried on there, and even plays in the churches themselves. Hence frequent quarrellings arose and sometimes swords were drawn. Churches were not then filled with pews, and afforded an open space for a fight or for theatrical performances. The manorial courts took cognizance of these offences, and carefully distinguished between the various gradations of assault—a mere fight—the drawing of a sword—letting of blood,

and so forth. The cathedral and St. John's church seem to have been especially distinguished in this way. It was presented at the Guesten-hall court, *temp.* James I., "quod Will. Barloe v. die Nov. ult. insult et affrar'm fecit sup' p'sonam ignotam in eccl'ia cath'is xpi et b'e Marie Virginis Wigorn, xs." By a statute of Edward VI. such offenders were excommunicated for mere blows, for drawing a weapon their ears were cut off, or, if they had no ears left (a not uncommon thing in those days) they were to be branded in the cheek with the letter F, for "fray-maker" or "fighter."

In the time of Henry VII. it was ordained "that no inhabitants within this citie ne libertie of the same from hensfurth syll anie ware or merchandise at eny feyre time wtyn (within) the cemytory or churchyard of the cathedral church of our Ladie of Wurcester on peyne of disfranchysing." But spite of the opposition of clerical and corporate powers these fairs continued to flourish, and what was intended at first for a religious commemoration degenerated into lechery, gluttony, dancing, harping, piping, and other licentiousness. In 1661 a warrant was granted to the bailiff of the sanctuary to prohibit any market to be held therein; but a century later the nuisance seems to have been continued, in the "tacking of horses and tolerating pedlars and other strollers to sell their ware therein,

as also in the passage leading unto the High-streete, to the great detriment of the parish and a nuisance to the community in general." The "three weeks' court at the palace gate" (see page 276) may have reference to the above fairs.

Scolding women were also a numerous class of offenders presented at manorial courts and consigned to the "gum-stool" or horse-pond. Witchcraft and sorcery likewise come in for notice, but these cases were handed over to the bishop's courts. In Guesten-hall court (*temp.* Elizabeth) one Heath was presented as "suspectuosa existit utendo incantatione vel artib's nequissimis, anglicè sorceryes and charmes, contra legem hujus regni Angliæ. It. ipsam in jura. xij*d.*" Short weights and measures, tippling, illicit sports, killing or eating meat in Lent, absence from church, scandal or defamation, encroachments on the waste, neglecting the repair of their causeways, erecting cottages, or keeping lodgers likely to become a burden on the parish, fishing with illegal nets, not practising as the law required with bows and arrows or keeping the butts in order—these were the main things to be considered by the wise jurors of the manorial courts, but they were not all: a most minute inspection was made of all the details of common life, and rigid rules were laid down to meet every case. Butchers were fined "if they blowed flesh that was

to be offered for sale," and swine were to be yoked and ringed from St. Luke's-tide till the 23rd of August. In the manor of Shipston (sheep's town) a fine was levied if they set up sheep-pens beyond the ancient limit, and "a paine of 20*s.* on Ann Willetts in case she make not a sufficient mound betwixt her backside and the backside of Mr. Richard Moore." There were ordinances as to where and when they should keep horses, sheep, pigs, and other animals—how to scour their ditches and watercourses—repair hedges and gates; they were bound to grind their corn only at the lord of the manor's mill, and that only at certain hours and under rigid limitations, nor dare they even pick peas on a Sunday—

"Item, quod nullus colliget pisas, anglicè pescodds, sup' diem solis sub pen. iij*s.* iiij*d.*"

So says a court roll of the time of James I. for the manor of Shipston. It was even prescribed to the tenants what sort of hats they should wear—

"P'tat villat quia non utuntur pileis;"

that is, the village or manor is presented because they don't wear (Bewdley) caps, patronised by the statute of Queen Elizabeth, under a penalty of 3*s.* 4*d.* These Bewdley productions were used by nearly all classes of people till the present abomin-

able style of hat was introduced by the French refugees in 1685. The following, in a court roll *temp.* Charles II., may serve as illustrations of the minute cognizance taken by lords of manors in the seventeenth century:—

"It is agreed upon that none of the inhabitants of Phepston shal exceed above 25 sheepe to everie yard land,* and he or shee that keeps above shal forfeit for everie sheep 6*d.* for each default. Item, it is agreed upon that none of the inhabitants of Humbleton shal exceede above 60 sheep to a yard land; he or shee that keeps above shal forfeit for everie sheep 6*d.* for each defaulte. It. that all the parishioners of the parish and manor of Himbleton shal yoke and ring all their swyne from the 8th daye of Nov. until harvest is ended upon three days warning, upon pain of 3*s.* 4*d.* each man's default. It. that all the inhabitants of Humbleton and Phepston shal hang all their gates and make all their moundes about the corn fields by the 23d daye of Sep. and soe to kepe them untill the last sheafe or cocke be carryed upon peyne of 3*s.* 4*d.*"

For Hardwick manor, in the same roll—

"All victuallers within this manor who do keep quoytes, loggetts, 9-pins, cards, dice, or anie other unlawful games, in their backsides or houses, shal within thre dayes after notice to them given forbear to use or suffer to be used anie of the said unlawful games. It. that the stokes and whipping post be put in good repayr within 28 days uppon payn of 20*s.* It. that wheras ther have bin in tymes past several p'sons who have taken or rented small tenements within this manor at dear rents, and to pay the same have taken to them several inmates (lodgers) to the prejudice of

* "Yard land," or virgate, was one-fourth of a hide—the latter being as much as one plough could cultivate, and therefore varying in extent according to the nature of the soils.

the inhabitants, it is ordained that whosoever latelie hath or hereafter shal take such inmates in their houses shal paye to the lord of this manor 10*s.* for everie month so offending."

The elucidation of this subject appears in the chapter on the cathedral precincts.

With reference to this manor of Hardwick (St. John's) it may be here stated that the manor-house was demolished and all the timber trees cut down by "the enemies of the parliament in the time of the wars, and nothing thereon to be seene but grass and weeds, sythence which time the tenant hath built a barn containing about five bayes in the field called Prior's Field."

Overbury manor was at one time charged with the payment of an annual allowance to the president of the council of the marches of Wales. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, Sir G. Sidney, Knight, the president, had assigned to him therefrom twenty-six quarters of good and clean winnowed wheat and forty quarters of good and pure winnowed barley, to be delivered at Worcester to whom the president should appoint, and he to pay 6*s.* 8*d.* for every quarter of wheat and 3*s.* 4*d.* for barley. The lessee of Overbury manor was also restricted from keeping more coneys than the dean and chapter should approve of, "they having been informed of the damage done by excessive coneys to the corn lands and the tenants generally." Would that there were

more of such considerate landlords in the present day!

In the lease of Cropthorne manor there was a reservation of "one new chamber as often as the cellarer or steward and other servants shall happen to come thither;" to pay forty-eight quarters of wheat, twelve of rye, and 108 of barley, 40*s.* for the water mill, and meat, drink, and provender, at every half-yearly court, also £8 a year, which in time past was accounted rent for summering and wintering of 220 ewes; and to keep everything in good order except the great barn.

The manors of Lindridge, Pensax, and Moore, furnished coal more than three centuries ago. The pits there appear to have been worked at one time by means of a loan from the Worcester corporation, and this city was probably supplied from that source until better roads had rendered more distant fields available. It is said that the first barge-load of coal brought to Worcester was in 1570, Rd. Denson belonging to the barge, "who lived long after in All Saints' churchyard, a pious devout man." Dr. Hopkins says it was first used to boil salt with in 1610. In that year Mr. T. Vincent of Stockton was authorised by the dean and chapter to break ground in the common at Pensax, to get coal at his own cost, and to pay such consideration as the dean and chapter should afterwards determine.

Seven years afterwards Mr. Salloway paid 6*s.* a ton for iron-stone got from Pensax common. In 1634, Pennell, the bailiff of the said manors, was ordered to stop up all coal-pits thereon, no explanation being given for this step; but in 1641 he was authorised to sink for coal in the waste grounds, paying 12*d.* a ton royalty, and to render a yearly account. Henry Tolly had the use of the coal mines in Minny Wood, Lindridge, about 1668, paying 8*d.* a ton to the dean and chapter. In 1727 a lease was granted to Thos. Clutton "for digging and raising coals for 21 years in Snead's common and Pensax common, in the parish of Lindridge, on certain conditions, namely, a fine of £80 and to deliver four tuns of chard coles yerely to the vicar of Lindridge, and pay 1*s.* chief rent yearly." This property remained in the holding of the Clutton and Clutton-Brock family for many years, until recently sold to John Higginbottom, Esq., of Bolton, Lancashire, who still raises between 3,000 and 4,000 tons of coal annually from his pits. There are at present three coal-pits at work in Pensax, but the number is variable, as old pits are closed and new ones opened. The coal is somewhat sulphurous and makes a large quantity of ashes, but it is specially used for making coke for hop-drying, and the sulphur is said to improve the colour of the hops as well

as to destroy insects in them. The price of coal was nearly 12*s.* a ton in this city two centuries ago, or £5 of our present money, rendering it therefore almost a prohibited article.

Wolverley manor had an iron forge, which in 1730 was leased to Mr. Edward Knight, assignee of a Mrs. Jewkes.

Eymore Park, a manor in the neighbourhood of Kidderminster, also belonged to Worcester monastery. About 1660, John Corbin had a lease of the keeper's house at Eymore Park, with the office of woodward. He was to have the bark, and pannage for swine, the said swine being sufficiently ringed during the whole time of pannage; and one curious proviso was made, that in falling timber he should "observe the wind and the moon, that as near as may be none be fallen the wind being in the east, north-east, or north, nor within five days before nor after the change of the moon." The northerly winds, it was believed, stopped the sap, and prevented the tender parts shooting again; but what about the moon?

Northwick manor-house was a ruin in the time of Elizabeth, when a lease was granted to Gilbert Littleton of "all that house, tofte, and parcel of ground, lying within our mote within the scite and precincts of the manor of Northwick, in the parish of Claines, where of late our old capital mansion-

house did stand, with toft and parcel of ground there, while the said house did stand, was commonly called the inner court of the said house, and all that toft and parcel of ground without the said mote, where two little chambers, then also called the porter's chambers, or house, lately did stand, and all those stables," &c.

The prior and convent, it seems, established the principle of long leases and mutual rights as far back as 1380, when they granted a lease of eighteen years to Rd. Cowarne and John Damalis, citizens of Worcester, of their manors of Dodenham and Ancredham (Ankerdine), with their appurtenances and the stock thereon, viz., eight oxen, valued at a mark (13*s.* 4*d.*) each; ten cows, at 10*s.* each; one long wain or waggon, ironed, 13*s.*; a gander and four geese, one cock and six hens, a cart, a plough and harrow, one horse, and three loads of hay. For this they were to pay £8 a year to the almoner of Worcester priory, and engaged to leave a similar quantity of stock on the farm at the end of the term. This agreement is a highly interesting one, as exemplifying the widely different value of money five centuries ago, the quantity of stock then considered necessary for an estate, and the mode of dealing between the monastery and their tenants.

Manorial courts were usually held half-yearly, the cellarer and steward, accompanied probably by one

of their squires or "gentlemen," armed for the protection of the religious and their money-bags, with officers and servants, being employed in "going the circuit." By the terms of the tenants' leases the travelling party were ensured a specified number of days and nights of free board and lodging at each manor-house, and ample indications are afforded of the conviviality which attended their journeyings: fiddlers and bagpipe players were engaged at some places, ringers were regularly fee'd, singers and other itinerant performers suited their fixtures to these periodical visitations and were right well feasted at them. Money-bags and the shoeing of horses figure largely in the "courting" expenses, and charity seems to have been dispensed not only to every beggar on the road but to the established benevolences of every town or halting place. If a poor woman had her cow killed by dogs, or a labourer's hand bitten by his master's horse, a liberal dole was dispensed. In many places on the route, such as at Blackwell, Quinton, &c., guides were indispensable for the rent-collecting party up till the middle of the last century. The heaviest amount of business was transacted at the Guesten-hall Court, which embraced what may properly be called "the home circuit." The boundaries of this manor, as stated in the surveyor's report during the commonwealth, cannot be dis-

tinguished, extending into all parts of the city and almost into every street;" but in one of Prior Moore's books there is a written statement which may possibly refer to this boundary; it is thus:—

"Copie of the perambula'con between the liberties and ffranchesses of the monastrye of Wurcester and the cittie, made 12 Aprill, 12th yere of King Henry 7th, in the tyme of Thomas Byrkyn and Robert Style, bailiffs. Leaders were chosen who were knowen to have no favour, love, nor affection for eyther partye, nor malyce toward ye prior and co'vent. Ordered that they should walke peaceably and withoute armes, but onlie with walking stavys, starting from the high cross (Guildhall) to the grasse cross (top of Broad-street), and soe directlie to Severn bridge, and when they were on the bridge they turned over the lyfte hande in to Wynnalle strete down to Severne banke into the ditche beyond the fuzbutt (furze bush) directlie leynge against the utter p'te of the key and so ov'r alesowe directlie to a style and on to the kichener's lesowe to a schorte cropped tre, grett oke, levying the oke on the lyfte hand, and from thence to a corner of a hegge and dyche which stretcheth to the corner of the howses that byn sett nigh the hieway ledyng toward Hardewycks corte in to the hieway, and from that wey streyte ov'r a strete called the barreyate* to Leighton Courte, levyng hooly the corte on the right hande and kepyng the dyche on the right hande in the lane beyond the corte un to Lyppard's lesow, going on the said lesowe at a greate elme, levyng the elme on the ryght hande and kepyng still the dyche under the hegge un to a watry lane called Cutthorne lane, otherwise called Frog-lane, and soe ov'r the hieway in to a dytche at Amy's acre yende, stretching to Severne, and so ov'r Severne, now gooe to the sight signe of a large crosse made in a wall of the p'orie in the castylle lane, keepyng the hoole creste of the pavement at

* Bar-gate, the bar or western bound of the city, since called Cripplegate, and now barbarously altered into St. Clement's-street.

the knolle (Edgar-street) by the cannell next to the sanctuarie, and so compassinge the knoll unto St. Marye steyers and in to the High-streete and soe to the high crosse ageyn."

It was a stipulation to lessees of houses within the manor of Guesten-hall—and probably the other manors as well—to set up the arms of the cathedral church in the front part of their houses. The arms of the priory were: Argent, ten torteauxes, in a quarter gules, our blessed Lady, holding in her arms our SAVIOUR or. Habingdon says: "Ye armes of ye b'prick and priorie of Wor. are spirituall, the torteaux signifieing the eucharist, where unto the priorie had a quarter added, our bl. Ladie holding our SALV'R in her armes." The seal of the dean and chapter was inscribed "Sigillu' Decani et Capituli Ecclesie Cathedralis Wigornie An. 1541." The subject represented is the Nativity, and the arms of the see also appear. On the reverse is Henry VIII., enthroned beneath a rich canopy, above which is the pope (whose position of supremacy is somewhat puzzling when we consider the date of the seal). His Holiness's right hand is extended towards a scroll on which is inscribed "Regem honorifica;" a group of ten ecclesiastics and another of the same number of laymen, kneeling on the right and left of the throne, unite in the exclamation "Vivat Rex," inscribed on the scrolls; and the whole is surrounded by the legend, "Qui

provocat Regem peccat in animam suam, Proverbs 20."

The dean and chapter's manors sold for £23,652. 14*s.* 3*d.* during the commonwealth, and there is a detailed account of the sales in Habingdon's "Worcester Cathedral."

Chapter XI.

POST-REFORMATION HISTORY.

"The mighty deep doth slowly creep
Upon the shore where we did play;
The very sand where we did stand
A moment since swept far away."

HAVING now exhausted all the special subjects of this history which require separate treatment, I propose to resume the chronological account from the point at which I left it, namely, the dissolution of the monastery.

King Henry's charter for the new foundation was dated January 24th, 1541, and provided for the endowment of a dean, ten prebends, eight minor canons, eight lay clerks, one organist, ten choristers, two schoolmasters, forty king's scholars, ten bedesmen, two vergers, two sextons, two porters, two butlers, one manciple, and two cooks; and a body of statutes for their government was furnished, by which they were bound to maintain a common table, to spend yearly a certain amount on the

repair of highways and bridges, and provide for old men, "especially those bruised in war or maimed by old age." The chief objects of the new establishment were—1, to provide the bishop with a counsel; 2, to make provision for a learned body of divines, who, disengaged from parochial cares, might benefit the cause of religion by their writings; 3, to make provision also that in the cathedral the services should be performed with rubrical strictness and with all the solemnity and grandeur of which our services are capable; 4, and the dean and chapter were to see that "youth should be liberally trained, old age fostered with things necessary for living, liberal largesses given to the poor in CHRIST, the reparation of roads and bridges effected, and other offices of piety performed."

Henry Holbeche, the last prior of the old establishment, found himself the first dean of the new one, an office which he held but a short time, being promoted in 1544 to the bishopric of Rochester, and was succeeded by John Barlow. At least five of the monks of the old establishment were placed in prebendal stalls, namely, Roger Neckham, James Lawerne, Roger Sandford, Humphrey Webbely, and Richard Lisle. Notwithstanding the suppression of monasteries, the publication of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, and other important works, the progress of the reformation was a work of but slow degrees, and the ceremonials and ritual observances of the church remained with but little variation for some years. In Worcester cathedral candles and ashes were still hallowed till 1547, when the great brass candlestick and the beam of timber before the high altar were taken down, and the images throughout the cathedral were destroyed; creeping to the cross was not abolished till the following year, when also

the pix with the sacrament was taken from the high altar and no fire or palms were hallowed, and the cross was not borne on Easter eve, nor procession on Easter day. In 1549, all services were first performed in English, and the old books were burned; and in 1551 the high altar was removed, King Edward having commanded that altars should be superseded by tables of wood; but it was nearly twenty years after the surrender of the monastery before the papal dominion over the church may be said to have ceased. Meanwhile the ejected monks and friars, who had been compensated with livings, used their pulpits as political machines, in the vain hope of resuscitating their defunct institution, but the proclamation of 1547 against preaching put a stop to their efforts in that direction until the accession of a Catholic queen led to renewed hopes. That the old leaven was at work in the new institution is proved by the fact that during the reign of Mary a petition was adopted by the dean and chapter of Worcester, praying "the lord cardinal's grace to redress certen thynges," including the amendment of the statutes so far as the pope's holiness' authority was concerned; the appropriation of the bridge and highway money to the restoration of the altars, organs, bells, and chapels, by Bishop Hooper violated and overthrown; the suppression of the common table, on the ground of insufficient provision, owing to the bad management of the late "ill rulers of the college;" also the abuse of non-residence of some of the prebends who were queen's chaplains, and abode at court, thereby avoiding the onus of housekeeping and hospitality at home, and making the burden heavier for the rest of the chapter; and as the singing men and choristers could not live on their wages, owing

to the extreme dearness of provisions, praying permission to appropriate to those officials some of the alms money; and lastly, for a reduction of the number of scholars to thirty-six, "for so always as the choristers' (voices) do change we might remove them to the grand school, there to continue until they be priests, and able to serve the quire again in singing of the gospel and epistle and in other offices of the church; and also we desire to have it ordained that none with us be admitted but poore men, and chyldren onlie that mynd to be pristes according to our statutes."

How much of these desired reforms was granted does not appear, but at least two objects contemplated in the petition were compassed, namely, the restitution of the pope in his ancient supremacy and the punishment of Hooper, bishop of Worcester, for his rigid adherence to the principles of the reformation, that prelate having been burnt at Gloucester on the 9th of February, 1555, for denying the corporal presence in the sacrament, and for refusing to detach himself from his wife.

Dean Barlow was deprived by Queen Mary, who appointed as his successor Philip Hawford, *alias* Ballard, who had been the last abbot of Evesham, but for his pliancy in resigning that abbey into the king's hands was rewarded with an ample pension, which amount was saved by his elevation to the deanery of Worcester. He died in 1557 and was succeeded by Seth Holland, a Romanist, who had been chaplain to Cardinal Pole, but who was deprived of his deanery when Elizabeth came to the throne, and soon afterwards died in prison; and then John Pedor, or Pedder, who had been in exile for conscience sake during Mary's sanguinary reign, was raised to the office, and signalised himself

by his prudent and thrifty management of the revenues pertaining thereto. The deprivation of Holland would probably not have taken place but for his activity in promoting the restoration of Romanism. He was the bearer of a letter to Elizabeth, just previous to her accession to the throne, counselling her to support and maintain the old religion when she became queen. Heath, the bishop, too, had been a zealous restorer of the old dynasty under Mary, rendering himself obnoxious to the reformation, and dissenting from the bill for the uniformity of common prayer and from the oath of supremacy; he was therefore deprived by Elizabeth, and Bishop Sandys succeeded him. Commissioners were now appointed (1559) to visit Worcester and other dioceses, to restore deprived ministers and deliver others out of prison, and to make a general inquiry as to the character of the clergy. The commissioners were John L. Williams, president of the Council of Wales, and others of the laity, and of the clergy were R. Davids, T. Yong, R. Meyrick, and R. Pates, lawyer. The result was the following injunctions:—

"Forasmuch as we understand the meaning of Henry 8th to be that all the pety canons and other ministers, as the schoolemasters of grammar and music, and all other the ministers of the church, and all the children there learning grammar or music, should eat together in one hall as soon as by any good means it might be conveniently brought to pass, the greatest hynderans and lett whereof hytherto hath bin and is the lack of convenient and competent provysion of corn, whereof there is sufficient quantitie for that purpose reserved, if you do not, contrary to the duties and offyce of good men, grant and demise the same away by newe leases and grants: we therefore charge you, the said dean and chapter, that you do not grant the said corn or grain reserved for the cathedral church, but that it be kept in your own

hands for the better maintenance of hospitality; and because there is nothing more abominable in GOD'S sight than adultery and fornication, and such other filthie works, to avoid suspycion thereof it is ordered that none of you shall suffer any ——— woman to resort to your house or chambers, nor shall not resort to any such woman in anie other place, nor anie unmarryd priest shall have in his house anie woman under 23 years of age, and those such as have lyved without blemish, and not notably infamous of the aforesaid vices; provided that this injunction shall not extend to anie woman of good name and fame whom such incumbent may not marry by the levyticall lawes."

Puritanism was now becoming strong in its growth: the mass had ceased, and the crucifix and images of Our Lady were burnt in the yard of the cathedral. This is said to have been done at Bishop Sandys' first visitation in 1560, but the images destroyed at that time must have been those which were supplied during the temporary revival under Mary, as the original images could never have survived the iconoclastic furor of 1547 even if they had escaped the zeal of the reformers of 1538, in which year, as some historians relate, the image of Worcester, with those of Walsingham, Ipswich, Welsdon, and many others, were taken to London and burnt at Chelsea. The history of the famous image of "Our Ladye of Wurcester," which seems to have been held in great reverence throughout the middle ages, may here be briefly glanced at. In Bayle's "Acts of the English Votaries" it is said that "Egwine, abbot of Evesham, and bishop of Worcester (then called Wickes) heryng tel that labour was made to the pope to have the chrysten temples replenyshd with images, to promote that market forwarde he hied him apace to Rome, and there he declared to the holy fader the secret revelacions and comandement of Our Ladye that he had to sett up an image of her to be worshipt in

Worcestre, delyveryng him a booke which he had wrytten of the same apparycyons, besides the life of Aldelme. The pope (Constantine I.), hearing this newe wondre, sent hym home againe with his bulles of authoritye comandinge Brithwalde, then archbishop of Canterburye, with all haste to call a general synode of all the clergie for confirmacyon of the same, and the king was required not to be absent that daye; and this was done in the yere of our LORD DCC & IX" (709). The general introduction of images took place soon after that time and continued till the reformation. In 1439, Isabel countess of Warwick by will ordered that her great image of wax then in London should be offered to Our Ladye of Worcester; but what this presentation of one image to another might mean I am at a loss to conjecture, unless the wax of which it was composed was to be melted into tapers, for burning at St. Mary's altar. Lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, wife of the Lord Stanley, was on her way in 1483 to Our Ladye of Worcester when the duke of Buckingham, musing in himself whether he should take on him the government of the realm in opposition to the usurper Richard III., met her as he rode between Worcester and Bridgnorth, and had such thoughts put into his mind from what she said as to determine him to use his endeavours to prefer her son Henry earl of Richmond to the crown. Cardinal Bourchier, sometime bishop of Worcester, in 1486, bequeathed an image of the blessed Virgin, of silver gilt, valued at the then large sum of £69. 5*s.*, to the cathedral of Worcester. Holinshed says: "Our Lady of Worcester was one of those notable images unto the which were made special pilgrimages and offerings. It was, with many others, removed and utterly taken away by

the special motion of Lord Cromwell in September, 1538." Some of our local historians have handed down a record or tradition that this celebrated image, when stripped of the veils that covered it, was found to be a statue of a bishop ten feet high. The truth of this statement has been warmly denied, and it is evident that the strife of parties was sufficient at that time not only to distort real facts but to originate statements entirely false.

Puritanism on the one hand gave much trouble to the new establishment by its incessant demands, while on the other the smouldering embers of Romanism frequently broke into a flame, and the supporters of the old faith were as goads in the side of the reformers. Sir John Bourne, of Battenhall, who had been one of the principal Secretaries of State under Queen Mary, insulted the wives of the Worcester prebends by calling them "priests' wives," a term synonymous with adultery in his estimation, and a violent affray took place between the servants of the respective parties in consequence; but it was the bishop who experienced Sir John's most vindictive ire. Strype informs us that Sir John dined occasionally at the bishop's table, but seemed to do so only to seek occasion for a quarrel, and informed against the bishop to the Privy Council, representing that he disputed the legality of Queen Elizabeth's title to the throne; that he had once broken out of prison; that he had taken several servants whom Bourne had discharged; that the bishop had once said in a sermon that certain unmarried priests in Worcester kept five or six women each; that in his visitation the bishop had commanded the altar stone in Sir J. Bourne's parish church (St. Peter's) to be pulled down and defaced, whereas Sir J. Bourne had caused the said stone

to be carried to his own house (which Bourne denied, asserting that the altar had been used in paving one of the aisles of the church). Bourne also charged the bishop with frenzy, being once "out of his wits for love." But the bishop vindicated himself not much like a man out of his wits, disproving Bourne's charges in every matter. The great cause of their ill feeling (says Strype) was two ministers' wives going in a boat over the Severn, Lady Bourne, her eldest son, and some servants, being in the same boat, when the son blasphemed and swore, calling Mrs. Avyce (wife of Prebendary Avyce, of the fifth stall) a "shrew," and using very indecent language. One of his servants also assaulted Mrs. Avyce and tore her clothes. One of the bishop's servants subsequently meeting with Bourne's servant Jones, told him he was a knave for abusing a gentlewoman, and then they drew their weapons, and the bishop's servant struck the sword out of Jones's hand and might have killed him if another person had not stopped the fray. Then Sir John Bourne, going along the street of Worcester, was met by a serving man, who forgot to take off his cap to him, whereupon Sir John called him a knave and ordered his man to follow him into a shop, where, going behind him, he smote him that he was in great danger of death. Next Sir J. Bourne's son and heir gets his sword sharpened at a cutler's and goes to the bishop's palace gates, asking "Where be the bishop's boys?" The bishop's man then went forth and another fray ensued, which the bishop's bailiff put an end to, the bishop being then in the Consistory Court in the cathedral; but when he got home and heard the dispute he went into the street and to the town-house (guildhall) to the bailiffs, calling for justice to

whichever party was in the wrong. Two days afterwards, the bishop having occasion to go to Ludlow, to the lord president of the marches, the latter was made acquainted with this outrage, and wrote to the bailiffs of Worcester, and sent for Bourne's son, who was bound to keep the peace. Notwithstanding this, at Christmas, when Sir John Bourne came into the country, the bishop invited him and his lady to keep Christmas at the bishop's palace, but he refused. In consequence of the riotous doings of Sir John and his son the former was at length committed to the Marshalsea. Besides his persecution of the bishop, Sir John also charged the dean and chapter with allowing petty canons to serve cures, "whereby the quire was oftentimes unserved; that they had chosen tailors and others for singing men, had melted the organ pipes into dishes for their wives and made the case into bedsteads; that the silver plate was divided among the prebends, and that it was intended to divide the copes and ornaments only that they were opposed by the unmarried members; that divers of the almsmen were men of wealth and did not reside in the college; that the places of scholars were not always bestowed gratis; that the prebends did not use hospitality, and that their wives sold the grain allotted to their portion, not in Worcester market, but at the dearest and best market for the seller; that the money appointed for highways was not bestowed; that the great leaden steeple (clochium) and the charnel-house, two of the goodliest monuments of this part of the realm, the lead whereof was worth £500, had been lately appointed to be pulled down—the steeple by the dean and chapter, if order to the contrary had not come from his majesty as it was said—the charnel-house by the bishop, if the dean

and chapter had consented; that stock or money they had little or none, whatever need the queen, the realm, or the church, should have; that all fines, perquisites, profits of corn, &c., were once a year divided between the dean and prebends and put into their private purses, wherewith they decked their wives (a point on which Sir John was peculiarly bitter) so finely for the stuff and singular fashion of their garments as none were so fine and trim in the city, which fashion of habit (as he maliciously and jeeringly said) was called the demure and sober habit. And as by their habit and apparel you might know the priests' wives, and by their gate in the market and the streets from a hundred other women, so in the congregation and cathedral church they were easy to be known by placing themselves above all other of the most ancient and honest calling in the said city." Sir John's malice however was ineffectual: he was ordered to make his submission to the bishop, and so the matter ended; but in 1569, the bishop, in a letter to his secretary, complained of his unruly neighbour as being still his constant and cruel enemy, making him weary of his office, and soon afterwards the bishop was translated to London. In the aforesaid letter the disposition of Worcestershire towards popery is thus shown:—

"This small storm maketh many to shrink; hard it is to find one faithful. The rulers will not displease, but so serve the time that they may be safe in all times. Religion is liked as it may serve their own turn. Not one that is earnest and constant; they are all as wavering reeds. In appointing of soldiers from hence no respect was had to religion—a matter to have been mended in my opinion. They well considered to spare their own tenants and to send forth mine, such was their kindness to their bishop; so that if I should need I must stop the gap myself, saving for my

servants. Wales with the borders thereof is vehemently to be suspected. If such a mischief should fall forth I shall be first assaulted. Percutiam pastorem, &c. If I might have authority to press a hundred of my own tenants, to be employed in her highness's service, and for my safety, it would stand me in great stead. If you can like hereof I must pray your help herein. Surely, sir, I am not afraid of the enemy, neither is my life dear unto me; yet wittingly to fall into danger wise men will think folly. But this way or what way you shall think best for me shall well content me."

He also said that sundry justices in Worcestershire had not subscribed their names to the instrument sent down by government to all justices, professing conformity, uniformity, &c., "which thing to avoid, suddenly some of them went out of the countrie;" and he added that it would "give great offence and much hinder the cause unless they are in a short time compelled to do as others have done; more have given their hands than their hearts, and I must say with Euripides 'Lingua juravi, mentem injuratam gero.'"

This was but a sample of the state of things throughout the country generally, and unless the queen had carried her government with a high hand the crown would unquestionably have slipped from her brow. Severe measures were therefore taken against the popish party. Among the Worcestershire recusants were Robert Shaw, prebend of the sixth stall in the cathedral, who was ordered to be confined within the limits of the county of Salop; John Arden and Wm. Northfolk, also prebends of the cathedral, but who were not to be found, the former being supposed to have hid himself in Herefordshire, and the latter "lurking so secretly that process cannot be served upon him." The popish recusant confined to Worcestershire was

Lawrence Vawce or Vaux, late warden of Manchester; Henry Johnson, late parson of Broadwas, was ordered to remain in the county of Hereford; Robert Shelmerden, to remain in the county of Northampton; Wm. Burton, in Oxfordshire; and Henry Saunders, in Warwickshire. All these were described as "unlearned and stubborn priests late of the diocese of Worcester." Incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or free-will men, were ordered to be sent to castles in North Wales or Wallingford and "there to live of their own labour and exercise, and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors." If expatriation was a harsh course to take with such offences it was at least preferable to the fagot and the stake.

Prebendary Wilson, whose wife had been insulted by Sir J. Bourne, as already mentioned, succeeded Pedor as dean in 1571. He and the bishop, to whom he was chaplain, had both been in exile for religion sake during the reign of Mary. Wilson was distinguished among the principal divines of the day; he was appointed one of the judges at Frankfort to decide religious disputes, and subsequently represented the dean and chapter of Worcester at the Westminster assembly. During the time of his holding office Queen Elizabeth visited Worcester, and attended service at the cathedral, being received at the porch by Bishop Bullingham, the dean, prebends, and choir; Christopher Fletcher, a schoolboy, pronouncing an oration in Latin, whereat her Majesty "took verie good likeinge," as also of a gift of £20 on a velvet purse wrought with gold. "Ther was grett and solompne singinge and musicke, with cornets and sackbutts, and a canopie (which had been bought for the occasion)

borne over her. She diligentlie viewed the tombe of King John and the chapell and tombe of her uncle Prince Arthur." . On her second attendance at the cathedral her Majesty's seat was placed close to this chapel; Prebendary Langworth read the epistle, Dean Wilson the gospel, and the bishop preached, after which the queen returned to the palace.

Dean Wilson died in 1586, and was succeeded by Francis Willis, president of St. John's College, Oxford. Soon after his appointment an inquisition was held "touching the estate of the cathedral church of Worcester being greatly wasted and miserably shaken by the bad husbandry of the late deane and the now prebendaries there." The charges were chiefly that they had converted the common treasure of the house to their private uses, had suffered the cathedral and buildings thereto belonging to fall into decay, had let the church lands and other possessions to their friends for long terms on nominal rents, charged the church with salaries of butlerships and other offices not in use since the common table of the establishment had been discontinued; also—

"They have taken from the now lord president of the marches 66 quarters of corn which they suffered the late lord president to have for many years past, and they have granted the same to a friend of Dr. Thorneton's (prebendary 10th stall) to his use for 21 years, binding the church by covenant to give him an annuity of £20 out of the church's lands during the said term if the same corn be taken away from him by authority or otherwise. They have shared the better part of the now deane's living among themselves during the time of the vacation of the deanery, and procured the late dean, when he was almost senseless, to demise unto some of them, under chapter seal, for lives and years, all the dean's hay and grass, valued at £10 per annum, his pulse and provender for his horses of the yearly value of £20, and his wool of the

yearly value of £18 or £19, and such-like commodities which former deans have had layd unto their place many yeres past for their better provision; and being now taken away, the dean is not in case to keep house upon his deanery nor to keep his gelding there, having occasion daily to ride and to travel on the church's affayrs. They have taken the opportunity of the late deane's infirmitie, when he knew not what he did; and for the better contriving of these thinges they gave him his share and suffred him to enjoye these comodities during his life, and not making the chapter clerk privie always to their unlawful leases made by themselves, they sealed few or no counterpanes (copies) of their said leases; so that neither the tearme, nor rente, nor covenants, are known to anie but themselves; all which thinges, when the late deane was made to understande as a man in his case might bee, it is constantlie reported that he took yt heavely and with sorrow hastned his ende."

The bishops of Worcester and Hereford having memorialised the archbishop on this subject, a searching inquiry was commenced on the 27th of June, 1587, when the following witnesses were examined: G. Goldsburgh, G. Lewes, and T. Thornton, doctors of divinity; Wm. Tovy, Gilbert Backhouse, bachelors of divinity; Rd. Harris, Wm. Thornehill, masters of arts; and Gervase Carrington, B.L., prebendaries; G. Wynter, Esq., T. Bradshawe, T. Cecill, R. Folyott, H. Hymbleton, W. Smyth, R. Gardyner, R. Yate, and Dorothy Wilson, widow of the late dean. The substance of their evidence is worth recording, as to a great extent it exonerates the capitular body, and throws considerable light on the times.

"Prebendary Goldsburgh saith there is as much linen, plate, brass, and pewter in stock, as when he first was prebend, and that 100 marks which had been laid up had been sent to her Majesty for her service in low countries, against his consent, to defray the charge of three lances (soldiers) imposed upon the chapter. The church was not in debt or want, but he admitted that the tenants were slow, but some desperate detts had been put into the hands of Carynton to recover by

law at his own cost, a half of what is recovered to go to the church. They have made their lodgings convenient, being before monks' chambers, partly at their own cost and partly at the cost of the college; had suffred no public place to fall to the ground except one vault belonging to Mr. Backhowse's woodhouse, which six or seven yeres before the dissolution fell downe in consequence of earthquake. The cost of repairing the church had been verie greate during the last six or seven yeares. Leases had been granted to some of the friends of the chapter upon the old rent and other honest conditions, but they have not let anie of the royalties to any of the manors belonging to the house except a license to some gent. for liberties tending to hawking, hunting, and fishing, and that not above two or three manors at the most. Thinks demising of copyholds to the tenants in reversion lawful and goode by the custom of the manors, but denieth reversion upon reversion; but Mr. Deane himselfe hath offended by giving away the best copyhold that was to be granted since he was deane. Admits he has between three and fourscore pounds in hand, but is ready and hath offered to account for the same at any time. The offices of butler, caterer, and cook, are charged on the church at the erection of the college, and there is use for one or more of these offices at audit time, but no unknown people have been appointed to them. The comons* of the house had not been dissolved by evil husbandry of the dean and prebends, but by petition of all the comons 26 or 27 years past, and is beneficial to them as they have their allowances to the help of their wives and children and are paid monthly their comons and wages. But witness hath offered £20 to the erection of the said comons again if thought convenient. They have not taken away corn from the lord president, but what had been done was by special agreement and for the good of all parties. Have taken nothing from the deane's living but what the statutes empowered them to do, and have yielded more to Mr. Deane than was his due. Denieth taking advantage of his sickness as injurious slander. Explains as to wool, pulse, and hay on Pitchcroft, that the deane had enjoyed it without anie right. Thinks it better that counterpanes should remaine in the hands of the lessees than in the house of the chapter clerk, being a mere townsman, and there being no place of security provided as desired by the statute. No grant had been sealed but in the presence of the chapter clerk and in the sealing house. Was a mali-

* Common table.

cious slander that it hastned the deane's death. G. Lewes next gave evidence: reversion upon reversion had been granted only in three cases and that in pitty and for conscience sake. Caryngton admitted several of the items, including the taking away of hay from the deane, which deprived him of the ability to keep his gelding as his predecessor was wont to do. Backhouse admitted that lands, woods, and royalties, had been let to prebends or their friends at nominal rents. Harris said there was £500 in the treasurie besides the 100 marks, and that the 100 marks were employed to free four of the prebends from their liability to the lances (soldiers), while he (Harris) had to pay his share out of his own pocket. Had heard that 300 marks were spent on some of the prebendal houses, and the cathedral was in some places out of repair, the kitchen belonging to the commons was uncovered and the vault fallen in. Hath had no part of the possessions granted to him, while all the others had. That the receiver for the previous year had detained in his hands £76 or £77, being robbed of that and other sums as he saith, but witness and others of the chapter did utterly disassent to allow the same unto him towards his loss. The next witness, Tovy, believed the church was behind-hand, as he had asked for his wages these three last quarters and cannot get them. Winter of Huddington deposed to the spoiling of the woods by cutting down timber which should have been for the use of the church. Richard Gardiner of Himbleton criminates Goldsburgh, Lewes, and Caryngton. T. Bradshaw, late schoolmaster in the cathedral church, aged 68, believed all the charges were true, and that the late deane grievously lamented over the grants that had been made. Cecyll, under-steward, going into the tower (Edgar Tower) to seek for something in companie with others, and opening a chest there, heard the deane say that the same was a poor treasurie where nothing was left, and therewithall did see him put one peny in the said chest, where and when this deponent did see nothing else there but empty baggs. Handed in a list of all grants and leases. Roger Foliott, ye chapter clerk, hath known great treasures in the cathedral church, as crosses, chalices, sensors, candlestycks, paxes, and other ornaments of silver and gold, also copes, vestments, hangings and curtains for aulters of divers sorts, over and besides £100 in the treasure house to serve when need should require; of which plate part thereof made a silver pott and cupp for ye comunion table and other plate, as saltes and cuppes of silver and gwilt for Mr. Dean and comon hospitalitie, also copes and vestements and other orna-

ments, some made coverings for the comunion table and the residue was divided between the then deane and prebends; but for the said £100 none remayneth, all which treasure and ornaments were altered in the time of Deane Pedder, sythence which time the said plate belonging to the house remaineth yet by inventory. And saith that the stock of £100 kept in the seale cheste was lessened to 100 marks, and that also fetched oute and bestowed amongst the late deane and prebends at the last setting out of the lances into Flanders. Of late the church had been scant of money to pay her ministers' wages withall, and there were great arrearages of rents, also a large outlay on prebends Thornton, Goldsburgh, and Caryngton's houses, while the church is ruinous and decayed in the roofs and vaults, and other offices of the college decayed. There was a goodlie furnys sold worth 100 marks within seven or eight years. He deposed as to the leases and grants, but said he had no record of leases of meadow ground held by Mr. Goldsburgh nor of certain meadow land in Prytchecroft previously enjoyed by the dean. Hymbleton, clerk and sexton, said the plate, &c., had been taken away by Dean Pedder and the prebendaries in the beginning of her Majesty's reign and divided amongst them; copes and vestments turned into cushions and coverings. Wisheth the comons again erected as it would be very beneficial to the inferior officers of the church. The late deane was greatlie decayed in his senses but might have known what he was doing. Cutting down woods was a great grievance to the country, for want of mast, &c. W. Smyth, sub-sexton, said the copes and such-like things were divided at Dr. Lewes house in the time of Dean Wilson. Dorothy, widow of Dean Wilson, said her husband had enjoyed the hay on Pitchecroft, the pulse in Teddington, and wool in Cropthorne; all now granted away from the deane; and foure days before his death, finding him very heavy and pensive, demanded of him the cause, who answered it was by reson of some matters touching the college."

The bishops signed the above depositions, and Robert Warmstrey, public notary, whose mark is engraved in another part of this work, certified the document. No specific result of this inquisition is recorded, but resolutions appear on the books from time to time calculated to ensure a more rigid discipline and management, restricting the prebends

as to the amount to be laid out yearly in repairs of their houses, limiting the expense of audits, &c. It was even thought necessary to fix the price of sermons, thus:—

"Ordered, that whensoever the dean and prebends shall preach anie sermon in anie the benefices impropriat to this cathedral church that he shal have alowed to him or them for everie sermon that is made at everie of the said impropriat benefices being from the said cathedrall church above seven miles and under twenty miles 3*s.* 4*d.*, and for everie benefice that standeth from the said cathedrall churche above twenty miles 6*s.* 8*d.*" (provision made that it be not their own livings.)

The earliest inventory of plate and other furniture belonging to the cathedral after the reformation was by "Thomas Wilson, doctour of dyvynyty and deane there, and — Bayland, thresorer of the said church, and others of the chapter, on the 3rd daye of Dec., 1576;" and it included—

"Two gobletts, with a cover, all gylt.
Two salts, gylte.
A fruite bowll, gylte.
Two cupps, with covers, parcell gylt.
Two white silver cupps, with covers.
Five spones, with nupps, and one other to be answered by B. Lewis.
Nine playne spones.
A sylver p'sent potte for the co'm'ion (communion).
Two silver cupps and a plate for the co'ion.
Three garnysshe of pewter vessells.
Two p'sent pottes.
Three changers, four dos. table napkins.
Five odd lost at th'audyte 1578 (*sic*).
Three new coarse table cloths.
Six old table clothes, two table towells.

For the quyer.

Tenn velvet cushyons, two cuysshons of tyssue.
Fower quysshions of freres, an olde cuysshon to kneele apon.
Two pulpit clothes of tyssue, two coverings for the co'munion table, the one of tissew, the other of flowers.

Four white cusshyons, three of white and greene damask.
A paule of black velvet.
A canapie bo't when the queene was here.
Three long carpetts to sytt apon at s'mons.
A white cope.
One new cloth for the com'nion table and another old one for the same.
Four new cupbord cloths bo't by Mr. Carington, thresorer (treasurer) 4th Dec., 1578.

Players gere.

A gowne of frenes gyrdles.
A woman's gowne.
A cloth of tissew, a jerkyn, and a pair of breeches.
A lytill cloth of tissew, a gowne of sylke.
A jerkyn of greene.
Two cappes and the devil's apparell."

This allusion to "players' gear" is very interesting, as being the only one met with among these records. The apparel was kept on hand either for the use of the schoolboys, who frequently performed plays, or else for itinerant companies of players, who at that time swarmed the country.

In the civil wars one Stephens received the cathedral plate by order of the parliamentary committee; it was sold, and the money handed in. No doubt the melting pot received these treasures. In the year after the restoration the following expense was incurred:—

"Work made by Robt. Alvey for Worcester cathedral, July 19, 1661.

Two flagons, w't 171 oz. 17 dwt. at 5*s.* 7*d.* per oz. - - - - - - -	£47	19	7
One bason, w't 82 — 4 — at 5*s.* 7*d.*	22	18	11
Two cupps and two covers and one bread plate, gilt, w't 96 oz. at 7*s.* 4*d.* - -	35	4	0
For graveing the armes - - -		4	0
For a box to pack them in - - -		2	6
	£106	9	0"

In 1684 we have—

"A particular note of the plate and other utensils belonging to the cathedral church of Worcester, delivered to Dr. Jephcot, treasurer for the yere ensuing, the 28 Nov., 1684.

"A velvett comunion table cloth.
Two gilt flaggons, two chalice cupps with gilt covers.
One gilt patent (paten), one gilt bason.
One brass candlestick hanging in the quire, with eight branches.
Two silver cupps with covers, one pair of silver snuffers.
Two silver candlesticks gilt, six glass lanterns—at present eight horn globe lanterns.
The stamp of the colledge armes.
One wooden box to keepe the plate in.
Eight new service books, 12 old ones, beside those the singing men have in their boxes.
Sixteen purple cushions, great and small.
One velvett cushion for the pulpit (new of cloth).
One purple pulpit cloth, fringed; two large folio bibles.
Two service books at the altar, covered with plush.
Two holland communion table cloths.
Two fine napkins and one lawn communion cloth.
Four napkins made of an old diaper cloth.
54 tinn-shells in the quire. (Query, sockets for candles?)
14 tinn-shells in the body of the church.
Two desks, 15 new bosses, and 16 old ones.
One trunk with a lock and key.
73 boards long and shorte.
14 great poles and 72 small ones.
One purple carpet, fringed, for the communion table."

Other inventories, somewhat varied from the above, appear at subsequent periods. While on this subject of plate, &c., it may be here stated that I know of no coins in the shape of tokens having ever been issued by the Worcester monastery or succeeding deans and chapters, though most of the large religious houses had mints.

Dean Eedes succeeded Willis in 1596. He was an eminent man both for precept and example. He was a celebrated preacher, and a chaplain to Queen Elizabeth; moreover he has had the credit of being a writer of tragedies, but none of his plays are now

extant; and the only other notable thing in connection with him was his remarkable epitaph, supposed to have been composed by himself, thus:—

"Viator ad tumulum de reverendissimo viro domino Richardo Eedes olim hujus ecclesiae decano.

Ede quis hic? Eedes. Ede cur hic? quia praefuit aedi!
Hæc domino qualis visa? beata domus!
Ede gradum! Doctor. Qualis? Sacer Oxoniensis.
Tamne pius vita, quam fuit ore? fuit!
Cur lapis et loqueris? sub me jacet Orphea vincens.
Iste facit plus quam saxa movere, loqui.
Cur lapis et lacrimas? Jacturam defleo tantam.
Eja viatorem me quoque flere facis."

The dean's bedstead monument which formerly occupied an archway on the south side of the Lady chapel now fills up and disfigures one of the western bays of the nave.

James Montague, master of Sidney College, Cambridge, followed Eedes in 1604, but being appointed bishop of Bath and Wells four years afterwards, the deanery of Worcester was given to Arthur Lake, brother to King James's principal Secretary of State. He also was promoted to Bath and Wells, and was succeeded here in 1616 by Dr. Joseph Hall, archdeacon of Nottingham and an author of some celebrity. He was called the Christian Seneca, from his style of writing, and was highly praised by Pope. He was one of the divines sent by James I. to the Synod of Dort, was promoted to the see of Exeter in 1627, and was one of the bishops imprisoned in the Tower by the parliament. The early part of this century was distinguished by that discord and want of discipline which seemed to foreshadow the evil times about to befal the church. First, a protest against the archbishop's visitation was made in 1605; then a

stout contest with the corporation took place in reference to the city charter; the singing men greatly misconducted themselves; almsmen were refractory, and absented themselves from service until they were heavily fined; and it was a difficult matter to ensure the usual Sunday sermons. An extraordinary meeting was held in May, 1617, when "all and singular the prebends and others being openly called, many of them did appeare, and the prebends present did accuse the contumacies of all such as were absent, and in pain of their contumacies did with one consent and assent decree that forasmuch as Mr. Deane is now imployed in Scotland in the king's service, and that Mr. Ferryman and Dr. Hanmer are sick, and that Mr. Ferryman for his parte is destitute of a house, and in like manner Mr. Thornhill is without a house, that therefore they and everie one of them shall be dispensed withall for their residence." Two years afterwards, Mr. John Hoskin, one of the petty canons, was dismissed from the quier as having dishonoured the church by divers misdemeanors and clandestine marriages; and subsequently "Mr. Thos. Moule, gospeller, for notorious negligence, was suspended till the feast of St. Michael;" and Mr. Moore, one of the prebends, having neglected to supply his turn in preaching, 20*s.* was ordered to be "defalcked" and deducted out of his "wages."

All this disorganisation was not in existence without the cognizance of the bishop, who, at his visitation in 1614, propounded the following articles of inquiry:—

"Whether any was a sorcerer, innhaunter, or incontinent, or taketh usurie, or anie interest whatsoever? Whether the chantor doth before everie anthem declare openly in the quire and make known what psalm or what els the same anthem

shal be? Whether the choir is diligentlie instructed in grammar as in song? Whether fourscore pounds set apart yerely for good uses be bestowed accordinglie and how? Whether any be permitted by the porter to go out of the college by night or to come in without express licence? Whether the deane and receiver, within eight days after their return from keeping courts, give up an account in writing before all the prebends what they had done abroad in their courting? Whether anie do make wilful waste of the water in their conduits? And you shal diligentlie inquire and trulie present upon your oathes by what means most convenientlie and with least hindrance to this church and the members thereof you do think a divinity lecture may be established according to his Majesty's most honorable privy council's desire on that behalfe."

This no doubt refers to the custom then beginning to prevail of introducing lecturers who professed to preach the Gospel "after the manner of Geneva," but these "overwhelming sons of heaven" were viewed with much distrust by the high church party as sowers of anarchy. Lecturers had existed before the reformation in many of our parish churches, and their function was to deliver a sermon *extra ordinem*, as being no part of the duty of the incumbent, and therefore delivered at such times as not to interfere with his ministrations. There was a lecturer in Hales abbey and a disputation on divinity; and John Laurence, a monk of Worcester, professor of divinity, in 1448-9, is said to have lectured fantastically in the divinity school; here is one of his ideas:—

"In a gem is splendour, worth, and vigour: thus in a prince who governs others ought to dwell the splendour of exercising virtue, the worth of exhibiting dignity, and the vigour of levying punishment."

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth an order was issued that in every cathedral church "a divinity lecture should be read thrice in the week by some

able person at the common charge of the church, if no spiritual living have been of old time appointed for such purpose, and the ministers and singing men of the same church to be present at the reading thereof." Robert Abbot was a lecturer in this city and rector of All Saints in 1589. He wrote "The Mirror of Popish Subtilties, discovering certain wretched and miserable evasions and shifts which a secret cavilling Papist, in the behalf of one Paul Spence, priest, yet living, and lately prisoner in the castle of Worcester, hath gathered out of Saunders and Bellarmine, concerning the Sacraments, &c."

In the same year in which the bishop's articles of enquiry were issued the Worcester corporation appointed a lecturer, who was instructed "to preach at the college every Sunday so long as it seems good to this house." This lecturer was Mr. Kinnett, at whose death another was appointed. The liberty of speech pertaining to the preachers was occasionally clipped and confined within certain limits prescribed by episcopal authority, and it was not till the growing spirit of puritanism in the early part of the seventeenth century perceived the immense influence of the pulpit that the company of the preachers greatly increased, many of whom were not particular in observing the canons or discipline of the church; hence in 1629 the king issued an order—

"That in all parishes in the afternoon sermons may be turned into catachisinge by question and answer, where and whensoever there is not some great cause apparent to break this ancient and profitable order. That every bishop ordain in his diocese that every lecturer do read divine service according to the liturgy printed by authority, in his surplice and hood, before the lecture. That where a lecture is set up in a market town it may be read by a company of grave and ortho-

dox divines near adjoining and in the same diocese, and that they preach in gowns and not in cloaks as too many do use. That if a corporation do maintain a single lecture he be not suffered to preach till he profess his willingness to take upon him a living with cure of souls within that incorporation, and that he do actually take such benefice or cure as soon as it shall be fairly procured for him."

Under this order Bishop Laud proceeded with rigour against those preachers who were not regularly appointed, or who, looking upon vestments as "rags of popery," declined to obey the king's orders for wearing them. In "Rymer's Fœdera" it is stated that about 1636 "my lord the bishop certifies that he is less troubled with nonconformists since Mr. Wheatley of Banbury gave over his lecture at Stratford, and that during this heavy visitation at Worcester (the plague?) he hath caused the lectures to cease." In the archbishop of Canterbury's return to his Majesty's instructions for 1636 is the following interesting passage:—

"My lord the bishop of Worcester certifies that your Majesty's instructions are carefully observed, and that there are only two lecturers in the city of Worcester, but very conformable, and yt they shal no long'r continew than they are so, and that one of them preaches on Sunday in the afternoons after catechisinge and service in the parish churches, ending before evening prayers in the cathedral. I may not here forbear to acquaint your Majesty that this Sunday lecture was ever wont to be in the cathedral and that it was removed because the city would suffer no prebend to have it. And evening prayers in ye parish churches must needs begin betimes and your catechising short, and the prayers at the cathedral begin very late if ye lecture can begin and end in the space between; but if it can be so fitted I think the dean and chapter will not complaine of the remove of the lecture to the parish church."

The corporation professed to pay the expense of the lecturer, but by what right they authorised him to preach at the cathedral as early as the time of

James I. does not appear. More of this subject hereafter.

Notwithstanding the bishop's visitations and the discourses of the lecturers, insubordination and irregularity so prevailed in the establishment that at length Bishop Thornborough threatened to petition the king. His lordship's letter was dated from Holt, Nov. 24, 1628, and in it he expresses "good hope that many things touching the reparation and government of the church of Worcester, heretofore neglected, will now be redressed;" concluding thus:—

"I am also to pray and require you that before you depart (from the audit) you take order among yourselves for residence to be kept orderly according to the statutes of the church; that hospitality may be kept and the church better served than heretofore. I doubt not that you, Mr. Dean, and others lately come into that society will readily yield hereunto, however hitherto some have been refractory to all my constitutions and orders made for that purpose at all my visitations. If no order be taken herein I shall be inforced to strengthen myself by petition I mean to prefer to his Majesty before my next visitation."

At this time the dean of Worcester was Dr. Wm. Juxon (appointed in the previous year), who probably little dreaded the bishop's threatened application to the king, for Juxon was clerk of the closet to Charles I., who had such great regard for him as to raise him successively to high preferment and chose him to attend him to the scaffold.

Roger Manwaring succeeded Juxon in the deanery of Worcester in 1633. He had been educated at Worcester College School, under the celebrated Mr. Bright. He also was an uncompromising royalist, having more zeal and less discretion and amiability of character than his predecessor. Being therefore but ill calculated to cast oil on the trou-

bled waters of religious and political strife, and having published a treatise on the right of the king to govern without a parliament, he was arrested by order of the house, fined £1,000, suspended from preaching, and incapacitated from holding any preferment. There is now in the cathedral archives a letter written to him from London by one Thos. Cady, two years before his degradation, which, as containing a bit of interesting political gossip of the day, is here appended:—

"Worthy sir, I was heartily sorry I was absent at your going out of towne, yet I shall endeavour to follow you with my duty in whatsoever can be conceived I may serve you in, for which purpose I presume to present you with these few lines, out of which (tho' of a rude composure) something will appear rare unto you. First that the Lord Heathe, upon some grievous complaints, was upon Tewsday last fully discharged from his place, and warrant given to the new attorney-general (viz., Sir John Bankes) to exhibit an information in the Starr Chamber ageynst him. The suddainenesse of this business occasioneth much wonder, he being a verie plausible gent. generally beloved of courte and countrye. His crimes are diversely related, but that which sticks most close unto him is something he did in his atturneyshippe concerning the earl of Midlesex businesse, sometime lord treasurer of England. Sir John Fynch is to succeed him in his place and likes it better than to be atturney-general. The king's solicitor is made the king's sergeant, and the recorder succeeds him, but the new recorder is not yet known. As soon as there is any certainty I shall be glad to give you notice. I received it from a good hand that a great alteration is likely to be in Westminster Hall. It is comonlie reported the Lord Richardson shall go off with honor (viz.) be made a barron and have his quietus est. This day did my lord of London visit and alsoe confirm at St. Clement's church, where there was a greate appearance of clergie. Y'r curate and lecturer were both present at my lord's learned and grave exhortation. Y'r sonne hath been sorely visited with the small poxe, but is well recovered (GOD be blessed) and abroad (as I suppose) before this time, for on Sunday last Mr. Edwards told me he had taken a purge to clense and fitt him for the

aire w'ch (he doubted not) would be before this time. Thus with my humble service to your worship, my respects to M'ris Eliz. and M'ris Mary and my love to all y'rs w'th you praying for as happie continuance and increase of health and good dayes to you as I can anie way wish to yo'r verie faithfull servant to the utmost of his power,

THO. CADY.

"Grayes Inne, the 24th of Sep. 1634.

"All y'r parish (for ought I hear) stand in good health (GOD be praised) and all I speak with praye for y'r safe returne."

The outside direction of the letter is—

"To the Right Wor'll Dr.
Manneringe Deane of
the Cathedrall Church
of Worcester, these."

While Manwaring was dean, the archbishop sent down the following orders for the better governance of the church:—

"Orders enjoined by Archbishop Laud to be observed by the Dean and Chapter of Worcester made upon their joint and several answers unto the articles of enquiry given them in charge in his grace's visitation, 1635.

"Imprimis, that all your prebendaries and other ministers of your church be continually resident in their several places as the statutes of your church require.

"2. Item, that none be admitted unto any place of your quire before he be first approved of for his voice and skill in singing by such of your church as are able to judge thereof; and that the places there as they fall void be supplied with men of such voices as your statutes require.

"3. Item, that hoods, square caps, and surplices, be constantly used according to the canon in that behalf provided by the dean, residentiaries, petty canons, and other ministers belonging to yr church, whensoever they come to administer or hear divine service.

"4. Item, that no timber trees growing upon the ground be hereafter sold, wasted, or made away, but that they be with care preserved for the only use and repair of the church.

"5. Item, that your choristers be duly and diligently catechised, which hath been formerly too much neglected.

"6. Item, that yr churchyard be decently and without profanation kept, and that you take care that the bones of the dead may not lie scattered up and down, but that they be gathered together and buried, and that the chapel called Capella Carnaria, situate at the entry of your cathedral, now profaned and made a haybarn, be restored and employed to the wonted use, and that the encroachments made upon the churchyard and other hallowed ground about your church be likewise restored and laid open for those ancient uses to which they were dedicated.

"7. Item, that as much as in you lies you prevent the common thoroughfare made through your close.

"8. Item, that the muniments which concern the public state of your church be presently taken from every particular and private person that hath any of them in his custody, and that for ever hereafter they be carefully preserved and kept together in some convenient place which shall be thought fit for that purpose by the dean and chapter.

"9. Item, that your porters, sexton, and other your church officers, do, if they be able, serve their places in their own persons."

Dr. Christopher Potter succeeded to the deanery of Worcester in 1636. He had been apparently won from the Puritan ranks by collegiate preferment at Oxford, of which he was made Vice-chancellor; and being also appointed king's chaplain in ordinary, he ever after exhibited the zeal of a convert, and suffered much in the royal cause. He was appointed a commissioner to treat between the parliament and the king; and when his Majesty became distressed by the pressure of parliament and people, Potter sent to him all the plate belonging to his college, declaring that, like Diogenes, he would drink from the hollow of his hand rather than his Majesty should want. Among the other evils of his time was the dreadful plague of 1637-8, when 1,551 persons died in Worcester, being one-fifth of the population! Four of these deaths occurred in the college and sixty-five in St. Michael's parish,

surrounding the cathedral, and so fearful was the visitation that the November audit or general chapter of the cathedral was held in the borough of Evesham.

The whole country was now verging towards a state of insurrection against the royal authority, no conciliation or compromise being thought of by either party in church or state; and from what has been said of the last three deans of Worcester it may not be supposed that one step was taken to avoid the coming storm or to assuage the discontent begotten of puritanism, unconstitutional government, and a dread of returning popery. It was objected in this city that high church observances were constantly being introduced at the cathedral; Dean Manwaring and six of the prebends had erected a stone altar in place of the table, with azure curtains behind, and a handsome rail erected at the step ascending thereto; a new service of communion plate was obtained from London; the eagle lectern from which the Gospel was read and the candlesticks were scoured too brightly for the keen perception of the roundheads, and the old seats had been swept away and others substituted more in accordance with the taste of Archbishop Laud. Here we have the order for the last-named alteration:—

"To my verie worthy frends Mr. Deane (or in his absence) Mr. Subdean and chapter of the cathedral church of Worcester, after my verie hartie comendations, when I was in Worcester for the metropoliticall visitation for my lord archbishop of Canterburie I observed that there were diverse seats in your cathedral church and especiallie in the bodye thereof that did not become so faire a fabrick as it was. Having acquainted my lord therwith as by dutie of my place I was bound, his grace, out of his extraordinary care that all things should be verie decent and comelie in all cathedrall churches,

thought fitt that they should be quite removed and comanded me to give order for it. In obedience hereunto, and because the thing is verie fitt to be done, I must require you that you cause all those seates to be removed betweene this and the first of November next. If there be anie seat fairly built of stone for the bishop or deane and chapter, or anie other seate fairlie built that standeth decentlie betweene the pillars, I am persuaded that (upon your motion) his grace will be contente to let them stande. My lord knoweth that the mayor and his brethren and verie many from everie parish of your town do resorte to your sermons, and is desirous that they should be well provided for, but withall doth believe that by handsome seats made with backs to be removed at pleasure, and by a convenient number of formes, they may all be fitted very well. So with my very loving salutation I bid you hartie farewell, and am your faithfull frende of whom you may dispose,

NA. BRENT.

Oxford, Aug. 12, 1635."

In arranging the fittings of the church but little care was taken for the sacred structure itself, if we may judge from an entry made two or three years later, to the following effect:—

"Making room for my lord bishop's seat to be sett up in ye bodie of ye church and for hewing away part of a pillar to which my lord bishop's seat is set in ye body of ye church, and setting a truss of stone to secure ye said pillar."

Besides the existing causes of disaffection of which mention has been made, the popular suspicion was aroused by a fancied discouragement of the weekly lectures on the part of the cathedral authorities, and at length the public jealousy had arrived at such a pitch as to resolve itself into a lengthened bill of particulars, preferred in a petition to parliament in 1641 by the city against the capitular body. The contents of that petition are only known by the answers thereto, which were as follows:—

"Crosses or images we have set up none, nor know of any in our cathedral. The altar stone (sett up by the last deane) is removed, and a convenient table shall be suddainely prepared. The tapers in winter shall be lighted without ceremony, and the reverences shall be moderated so as no offence be given. The epistoller and gospeller are not by statute to be priests but lay clerks, as in other churches, and these clerks are to read the litanie. The dean and prebends are resident, according to the statute, or punished; and in their residence they will preach in p'son and take a particular care that their turnes be supplied by able and worthie men. If the lecture in the cathedral may be read by some grave, learned, and godlie man, as is fitt, the church will contribute to it. No weekly lecture was ever forbidden or discountenanced by us, as the preachers themselves testify. The present seats are convenient, and cost the church about xx marks. The old seats were removed by the king's direction. A new faire pulpit was ever intended and shall be forthwith provided. Burialls in the church and churchyard must be moderated; the churchyard is raised by graves above three foot within the memory of man. We give yeerly £40 in alms and most of it to this city. The poore here have weekly 30 of them 2*d.* in bread and 2*d.* in money, in all 10*s.* The rest we bestow among our poor tenants at our manors in p'gresse time, and on other occasions dayly. Our £40 for highways we may bestowe at our liberty where we please within the county. For the causeys in question, if the country by their carriages will bring in materials the church will be at the charge of pitching and workmanship and to buy the stuffe. The late schoole is designed for our library and a prebend's house when we are able. Special care is taken to provide a most able master. It is unworthy and against the statute to place rich men's children in poor scholars' places; the deane knows no man guilty of it Choristers are by our statutes more capable than others to be king's scholars. Our fines have been and shall be reasonable, and our tenants very well used. No tenant using himself well was or shall be turned out of his estate. Noe justice of the church hath allowed anie alehouse within the sanctuary; it is our desire they may be well ordered in all respects. We have altered no statutes, and everie man in person, not only by proxie, swears to them. The charge laid upon the deane out of his sermon is a weake and simple mistake. Mr. Tomkins (prebend of 10th stall, and sub-dean) knows not wherein he hath offended any of the city in word or deed. His father hath been very charitable to,

their poor, and soe hath he. He is sorry that he hath lost their love, and much desires it, and will be most ready and willing to recover it by all offices of love and courtesie hereafter, and will carry himself with all submission, respect, and humility, to the lord bishop his diocesan."

The result of this was a conference between the dean and chapter and the corporation of the city, thus reported:—

"Wee have treated with the mayor and sheriffe and some other of the special citizens about their petition against the dean and chapter, and do find them somewhat inclinable to peace, yet will not give us their certain demand till they have advised together and consulted their counsel, for which they have taken time till Munday next. The terms, we gather from them, they will stand on are, the having their seats and the pulpit made as formerly they were, £20 per annum towards their lecturer's stipend, the school to be reduced to the old place, their freedom of burial in the church and churchyard at the old rates, the weekly almes to be given to their poor as heretofore, that the offended bishop may have satisfaction and his consent obtained to a peace and retraction of the petition, and that Mr. Tomkins the sub-deane (with whom they seem to be highly offended) must submit. It is like when they meet and consult together we shall have all this and more proposed. We beseech you consider of it, and direct what other or further service we shall or may do in the business, and how far we shall consent unto or dissent from their demand, which as soon as we can have from them in writing you shall receive."

This was April, 1641, and no doubt the citizens enforced their claim with a high hand, for the tide was now setting in strongly against both church and king. In the same year John Prideaux, the new bishop of Worcester, together with all his episcopal brethren, lost his seat in the house of lords, and their revenues were afterwards sequestered. The bishop was a man of moderate views but loyal to his king, and having pronounced excommunication against all who should take arms for the parliament

he was exposed to plunder, reduced to great difficulties, and died in poverty at Bredon in 1650. The parliamentary order against meetings of popish recusants was issued in 1641, and about the same time the justices and gentry of Worcestershire petitioned parliament in favour of the continuance of church government, the liturgy, and uniform service of GOD, and protesting against "the insolencies and extravagances which have been lately introduced by divers sects, the schisms and many dangerous doctrines publicly vented." In the following year the Worcester county grand jury made a declaration to defend the Protestant religion against Papists and all others, while the mayor of the city ordered certain delinquents and Papists to depart the city. The bishop received a letter from the king, requiring him to borrow money from the clergy of his diocese, which should be returned with interest at eight per cent. "as soon as these distractions shalbe somewhat appeased;" another letter in which Charles asserts that the principal cause of the rebellion had been the great increase of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, and requiring the bishop to reside at Worcester for the better reforming of these abuses, and also to compel the clergy to reside at their cures and labour with diligence in the conversion of Papists; and other letters were sent to the mayor and sheriff, stating that as the bishop had been "menaced to be sent for in a disgraceful maner to the parlyament, as if indeed he were a notorious malefactor and delinquent," the said officers were by every means in their power to prevent the forcible abduction of their bishop. The strife of politics and religion was now at its height, and the devoted city of Worcester fully shared the horrors of the civil wars. Great difficulty was experienced by the

dean and chapter in collecting their rents, many of which were paid illegally (probably to aid the parliamentary cause) or they were not paid at all; yet the capitular body managed to raise £1,100 on timber cut down upon their estates to aid his Majesty's exigencies. A few memoranda from the chapter books will give an idea of what occurred in 1642,* the year of the siege of the city:—

"Nov. 7, to the plumber, for work done, lead and solder found by him in mending o'r conduit pipes abused and broken by ye rebells, £1. 10*s.*

"Nov. 10, paid for making clean ye pavement about ye college green, left very filthie by ye rebells, 2*s.*

"For ringing a peal yt day the gov'nr of our city and sherief of ye county, Sir Wm. Russell, came to reside here for ye guard of both, 2*s.* 6*d.*

"For a tun of coles for ye guards kept night and daye under ye college gate by ye gov'nr's order, 8*s.* 2*d.* (A ton of coals was ordered every four or five days for the guards at Edgar Tower.)

"Dec. 12, for ringing a peale upon my lo. b'p's return to Worcester after eleven weeks' absence since first the rebells entered Worcester, 2*s.* 6*d.*

"It. for mending his lordship's seats in ye cathedrall abused by ———, 2*s.* 4*d.*

"To the mason for tyles, lyme, and work done, in repa'con of Mr. Organist's house ruined by a canon shott when Waller attempted the taking of the citty, 4*s.* 4*d.*"

The result of the siege was the temporary occupation of the city by the parliamentary troops, who pillaged the city and cathedral. On the Sunday (Sep. 25) the soldiers used every sort of vulgar abuse and wanton destruction that could be effected on its altar, which they pulled down, and its vestments and furniture, which they destroyed. The vault beneath it was explored, and a considerable treasure of stores and provision was discovered in

* The date in the book is 1643, but this must be a mistake.

it, supposed to have been sent thither from the collegians of Oxford, as a depot for the use of the royalists, and consigned to Dr. Wm. Smith, one of the prebendaries, and Dr. Potter, then dean, both of whom had made their escape. The earl of Essex and the parliamentary forces, having made the devoted city pay dearly for its loyalty, marched towards Shrewsbury in pursuit of the king's army.

Nothing material occurred from this time till the second siege of Worcester, in 1646, the bulk of the citizens having meanwhile held firmly their allegiance to the king. The cathedral seems to have sustained no damage during this siege, although the bishop's palace and priory gate (Edgar Tower) were struck by cannon shots from Perry-wood hill. In the Townsend MSS. is the following entry:—

"July 15, 1646. A little piece of brass was slinged up with its carradge to the top of the colledge church about nine of the clock, which will very much gall the enimy."

The garrison having surrendered the city to the parliamentary forces, the inhabitants were again severely handled, and the dean (Rd. Holdsworth, who had been appointed that same year, on the elevation of Dean Potter to the deanery of Durham) was dispossessed of all his preferments, imprisoned, and so harassed, that soon after the execution of the king in 1649, being deeply affected thereby, he died, and the office was not filled up till the restoration, deans and chapters having meanwhile been abolished and their estates sold. Presbyterian services now generally supplanted those of the Anglican Church, and for some years that party shared with the Independents and Baptists the use of our cathedrals and parish churches. The notorious Hugh Peters is said to have preached at Worcester cathe-

dral on the 24th of July, 1646, when the city had surrendered to the parliament; and when, in 1649, the survey of the late dean and chapter's possessions took place, in pursuance of an act of the commons, the dean's house was rented by one John Lydiatt, probably a layman; Richard Moore, Giles Collier, Gilbert Cox, Simon Moore, and Rowland Crosby, all described as preachers of GOD'S word, occupied some of the prebends' houses; the rest were held by laymen or women. Rd. Baxter, the pastor of the church at Kidderminster, occasionally preached at Worcester and busied himself in the hopeless attempt to reunite all parties in one church. The cathedral and some of the buildings thereto belonging were now dismantled, damaged, or destroyed. John Gyfford and Anthony Twyne, of London, bought of the parliamentary trustees the cloisters and garden ground, resold it, and the lead and timber were carried away. Birch, a parliament man, purchased and pulled down the leaden steeple; and one Stephens received the cathedral plate by order of the committee, and delivered it to one Beauchamp, who sold it and delivered in the money by order of the same committee. The trustees or surveyors who signed the survey of the dean and chapter's possessions were Wm. Webb, superintendent general, Ant. Palmer, Abm. Bonne, or Borne, Henry Hill, and John Mott; but in a deed for the sale of the manor of Ankerdine and Dodenham the trustees named for the conveyance of the land to Henry Pitt, of Clifford's Inn, London, gent., were Sir John Wollaston, Robt. Titchborne, Thos. Noell, Mark Hildesley, Wm. Hobson, Thos. Arnold, Owen Roe, Stephen ———, Geo. Langham, John Stone, John White, Wm. Wyberd, Daniel Taylor, William Rolf, and Rowland Wilson, Esqrs. The capitular

estates generally seem to have been purchased at a very low figure—a proof of sagacity one could scarcely have expected in people who had resolved to risk the buying of property at all under such circumstances. When this sale occurred the lands and manors of the church were spread over thirty-six parishes in Worcestershire and twelve in other counties. Habingdon says that the produce of these sales, being thirty lots, amounted to £23,652. 14*s.* 3½*d.*; and it appears that notwithstanding the act for abolishing bishops, deans, and chapters, and appointing visitors for selling the lands, did not pass till 1649, the disposal of the property of the church of Worcester commenced in August, 1647, and continued till March, 1650. The books, manuscripts, and records, also fell into the hands of the surveyors mentioned above, Messrs. Palmer, Bonne, Hill, and Mott, and were regained from them at the restoration, except some of the evidences which were dispersed in London and for a long time hunted up and partly restored by Mr. Dugdale and others at a considerable expense. As late as 1687 Prebendary Hopkins was despatched to Oxford to gain certain MSS. belonging to this church.

Neither the parliamentary committee during the commonwealth nor the ministers who had charge of the cathedral have left any record of their proceedings or management during the few years of their administration. The only scrap of information relating to that time is in the second volume of the receiver-general's accounts, when Francis Walker appears to have been treasurer (1655), and the amounts disbursed by him on the repairs of highways, scholars, and almsmen, are very irregularly and badly written; yet as some good usually arises out of evil, the survey of all the dean and chapter's

possessions and manors still remains, a document of considerable value, as showing the extent and worth of each, the names of the holders, and the customs and privileges appertaining thereto.

The temporary occupation of Worcester by the parliamentary party, and of the cathedral by the Puritans, received one brief check of twelve days only, from the 22nd of August, 1651, to the memorable 3rd of September, when Cromwell obtained that "crowning victory" which entirely destroyed the hopes of the royalists and of the second Charles for the remainder of the Protector's life. Mr. Crosby, mentioned as an eminent divine of this city, preached before Charles II. in the cathedral on the 24th of August, 1651, and in his prayer styled the king "in all causes and over all persons, next to GOD, supreme;" at which the Scotch took exception and admonished Mr. Crosby to forbear such expressions in future. The preparations for the great fight were anxiously watched from the top of the cathedral tower by the young king in person and a council of war whom he had convened. No damage is recorded to have been done to the cathedral on this occasion, although the guns of Fort Royal, which had been taken from the king's troops, were turned against the city; yet in the general sack and plunder which followed the parliamentary victory it is not probable that any consideration was shown for the sanctuary, and no doubt the cathedral and cloisters again became, as they had been on a former occasion, the rendezvous or lodging for both troopers and their horses. After Charles II. escaped from Worcester, Cromwell caused gibbets to be erected before the doors of many of the royalist citizens, not forgetting the mayor, who however narrowly escaped his intended

elevation by dying of a fever on the previous night. Time—the healer of all wounds—at length accomplished the restoration of monarchy in 1660; the reaction of the popular mind had been complete, and Worcester was exuberant in loyal demonstration: bonfires and great rejoicings took place here, and the Townsend MS. states that at six o'clock in the morning of August 31 the first service in the body of the cathedral according to ancient custom was performed by Mr. Rd. Brown; and on Sep. 2nd—

"There was a very great assembly at morning prayer, by six in the morning, and at nine o'clock there appeared again at prayers all the gentry, many citizens, and others numerous, and after prayers Dr. Doddeswell, a new prebend, did preach the first sermon, the dean and prebends being to resettle the church in its service, and also to repair the same by degrees, which hardly £10,000 will put the whole fabrick in that order it was before the barbarous civil wars."

There was much to be done for the cathedral establishment, much to be undone, and a great deal that was beyond recovery. The cathedral itself and surrounding buildings, except those actually in occupation, were left almost in ruins; the Presbyterians were to be ejected, lands and possessions to be reclaimed and difficulties with influential owners overcome; compensation in some cases to be made, and funds to a large amount were necessary to be raised for immediate exigencies. Restitution of office to the old prebendal body would have been the first duty, only that the death of some and dispersal of others had rendered it impossible. The old dean had departed from a world in which he had experienced little but affliction. Dr. John Oliver, who now succeeded him, had likewise drunk deeply of the bitter cup of adversity, and was "strangely desirous to leave this world"—a wish

which was granted a few months only after his appointment. Of the ten prebends who had been ejected by the parliament only three were restored, namely, Giles Thornburgh, who was made sub-dean, Dr. Herbert Croft, and Nathaniel Tomkins, who was appointed receiver. The other seven old prebends, of whose concluding history I can find no account, were Wm. Smith, Stephen Boughton, F. Charlett, N. Giles, T. Laurence, R. White, and A. Tyringham. The last-named met with barbarous usage from the parliamentary soldiers. Their successors will be found in the following list taken from the registrar's book of the officers for the restored establishment:—

"A perfect catalogue of names of the dean and chapter and of every p'ticular member of the cathedral church of Worcester Oct. 26, 1661:

John Oliver, D.D., dean.
Giles Thornburgh, sub-dean.
Nathaniel Tomkins, receptor.
Herbert Crofts, Dr. in Div.
Wm. Dowdeswell, Dr. of Law.
Barnabus Oley, thesaurus.
George Glen.
John Breton, Dr. in Div.
Wm. Thornburgh.
Edwd. Reynolds.
Thos. Barlow, Dr. in Div.

Petie Canons.

Philip Tinker.	Robt. Alderson.
Thos. Taylor.	Rd. Taylor.
John Sayre.	Robt. Blundel.
Wm. Harwell.	Rd. Brown.

(One place void.)

Quire men.	Lay clerks.
Humphrey Withie.	Geo. Yardley.
Rd. Davis.	Thos. Hall.
John Brown.	David Powell.
Rd. Hopkins.	Roger Fosbrook.
John Laight.	Edmund Evot.

Schoolmaster, John Toy.
Usher, Stephen Richardson.
Deacon or gospell'r, Humphrey Withie.
Subdeacon or epistler, John Laight.
Præcent'r, Philip Tinker.
Sacrist, John Sayre.
The high steward, Thos. Lord Coventrye.
Under steward, Thos. Street, Esq.
Auditor-general, Johnson, Dr. of physick.
Surveighor of ye landes, Stephen Richardson, senior.

Two porters	Jefferey Mayfield. Thos. Timmes.
Two cookes	Hugh Philips. ————
Two butlers	————
One caterer	————
Two vergers	Humphrey Withie. Thos. Mince.
Sub-sacrists or sextons	Jones. Walker.

[Then follows a list of king's scholars, choristers, almsmen, or bedesmen.]

The first copy of minutes of the restored chapter occurs on 13th Sep., 1660, some months before the above-named staff had been organized; it is as follows: —

"The said dean and chapter, taking first and chiefly into their consideration the service of GOD, which of late years hath bin neglected in the said church, do hereby order that divine service shall be said and done in the said church every morning at six of the clock, and in the quire also so soon as it can be repaired and fitted for that purpose; and that until the prebends be filled by his Majesty, and that Mr. Deane and they be settled to preach in their several turns, some orthodox divines shall be requested and procured to preach in the said church every Sunday morning. And it is conceavd the persons hereafter named and such-like be fitt to be requested therunto, viz., Dr. Wright, Mr. Jaspar Brittin, Mr. Thos. Garland, Mr. John Darbie, Mr. John Best, Mr. Henry Gresley, Mr. Jas. Pitt, Mr. Theophilus Cooke. And that in regard the said church is very ruinous, and some part thereof in very greate dainger of falling if not timely prevented, it is therefore agreed

and so ordered that a sum of money not exceeding £500 be borrowed and taken up for the present, setting in hand and going on with the said work, and that the sum so borrowed shall be repayed to the lenders thereof out of the first money that can and shall be raysed out of the revenues of the said church. Also ordered that the quiremen, as soon as conveniently may be, shall be provided with houses for their habitation within the precincts or sanctuary of this church, to hold and enjoy the same during the time they shall continue members of the quire; and that Mr. Street and Mr. Richardson and all other officers do use all the means they can to find out and regain into their possession for the use of the church all writings, books, records, muniments, plate, and other goods and utensils, belonging to this church.

Rev. J. OLIVER, Dean.
GYLES THORNBURGH, Sub-dean.
WM. DOWDESWELL, LLD.
BARNABAS OLEY.
HERBERT CROFT } by proxy."
G. GLEN }

The first quire service was said and sung on April 13th, 1661, and on October 27th of the same year (Dean Oliver being dead)—

"Dr. Thomas Warmstry was brought in this day to Worcester, with about 100 horse, as dean of Worcester. The clergy band stood ready to receive him in the city, and 40 king's scholars at the college gates. He alighted at his house, the deanery, put on his robes, and the prebends and quire met him in the cloisters, sang Te Deum, then came into the quire, read his letters patent for deanery and enjoyment of all rights belonging to his place, took the oaths of supremacy, allegiance, and against simony; and sub-dean, Mr. Giles Thornburgh, installed him. The quire service finished, every one went to his own place, and in the evening he said service himself."

Dr. Warmstry was a native of Worcester, a son of Gervase Warmstry, registrar to the dean and chapter, and belonging to an ancient and honourable family who gave name to the "Warmstry Slip," a narrow street or lane where their mansion was situate (now Messrs. Dents' glove manufactory), leading

down from the south-west side of the city to the Severn. Dean Warmstry was a moderate man; he had been a member of Convocation before the civil wars, and made a speech against images, altars, and crosses, so that he was accounted a Puritan; nevertheless he had a great dispute with Baxter as to the consecrated uses of a church, and he preserved his allegiance to the king, and was appointed on behalf of the city to treat with the army of the parliament respecting the surrender of the place in 1646. His views and principles not coming up fully to the humour of the times he was forced to fly to the king at Oxford. At the restoration he was made prebend of Gloucester, and afterwards advanced to the deanery of Worcester, which he held but four years. He was the author of several political and controversial works, and died in 1665.

The great work to be done in the restoration of the cathedral at this time has been already specially detailed in a former chapter, besides which were the compensation allowances made to individuals who had been ejected, and other "extraordinary charges occasioned by ye warrs." Among these charges were—

"Moneys given by consent and order to gratify p'sons yt left the college and pretended some right to the same.
To Mr. Barefoot, who was schoolmaster in Mr. Toy's sequestration, £15.
Mr. Hoar, usher, £5.
Mr. Bak'r, minister in ye city, who had an augmentation out of Norton and Lench. £10.
To Mrs. Smith, who said some arreres were due to her husband before the warrs, £5.
To Dark, to depart the boatman's house. £2.
Old Martin, to departe ye house in the cloysters, £2.
To widow Hunt for ye same, £2.
Mr. Jackman, vicar of Sedgb'w, which he pretendeth to as due, £37. 10s.

To Thos. Stallard for communion wine unpayd (as he sayd) in ye years 1642-3, £4. 9s.
Given Ann William yt pretended pay due to her son as king's scholar, 7s.

Books bought to furnish ye church.

To Mr. Rea for an English fol. Bible and a comon prayer book in quarto, £1. 0s. 6d.
Mr. Garthwait for two common prayer books in folio and 20 in quarto, £5. 17s. 9d.
For a sett of printed song books for the quire, box and carriage, £12. 15s. 6d.
Given my lord bishopp's servant yt brought ye great Bible which my lord gave to the church, 5s.
To Thos. Hall for a singing book, 1s.
Paid Mr. Jones for a common prayer book for Mr. Tink'r in folio, 11s.
To Mr. Holman for ye leiger books, 8s. 10d.
Two silver verges bought of Nat. Potter at ye Bunch of Grapes in Cheapside, £5.
To Mr. Alvey for communion plate, viz., one bason, two flaggons, £106. 9s. (?)
For quisshons and furniture for the communion table and quire, £56. 10s.
To Mr. Garthwait for two fair common prayer books for ye communion table, £4.
To. Mr. Nich. Baker, for 14 yards of Kidderminster stuffe for ye quire, £3. 7s. 6d."

The appointment of almsmen, too, was a work of some difficulty, in which the pressing claims of large numbers of competitors who had lost their all or been disabled in the king's service had to be considered and nicely adjusted. The royal favour was shown on this wise: "Our poor subject, Rd. Belson, who hath served our grandfather and father of ever blessed memorie, and ourself now as an under servant in our wine seller, and being now grown aged and not able to perform his duty as formerly he hath done," was one of the first almsmen appointed after the restoration, as also Francis Wall, "who served our royal father, and for his loyalty was

plundered of all his estate, being much concerned for the defence of the city of Worcester, for which service he never has yet received any satisfaction, and being now 63 years of age;" and Thomas Hayward, "a soldier in the late war at Worcester and elsewhere, for which he was plundered and a great sufferer, and now grown old and reduced to great poverty."

At the risk of breaking the thread of my chronological narrative I shall here show how in subsequent years the royal interference was exercised on behalf of candidates for the charities of Worcester cathedral. At various periods the appointments of almsmen by the king included—John Rogers, "who in the engagement against the Dutch lost his arm and was wounded in his legg on bord our shippe ye Cambridge;" Rd. Meredith, who "served in the same engagement on board the Royal Katherine, and lost his left leg;" Wm. Smeadon, who "served in all the wars against the Dutch and lost the use of his left arm in a voyage to Scotland on board our frigate ye Crowne." Appended to this last nomination was a note to this effect: "If a place fall, write to W. Smeadon in Orchard-street, or to T. Smeadon, his father, in Green's-alley, in Broad Sanctuary." Wm. Harris, who "fought againt the Dutch in 1673, on board the frigate the Hampshire." The appointments or nominations made by James II. were—Robert Swinfen, of Worcester, "who served our royal father and brother of blessed memory in almost all engagements in the great rebellion, particularly at Worcester, and now reduced by age and infirmities;" John Donne, weaver and clothier of Worcester, "a soldier in the army of our royal father till after the battle of Edgehill, and afterwards took up arms for our late royal brother at Worcester;"

and Thos. Tyler, "who in the service of our late dearest brother had both his legs shot off in the engagement against the Dutch in 1666." Queen Mary (William and Mary) nominated William Lamb, "a soldier under our royal grandfather and uncle, Charles 1st and 2nd, and had two sons who lost their lives in the service of our royal uncle, and being nearly 70 years of age and very lame;" Thos. Price, "who engaged the Dutch and lost his hand by a shot;" James Havergill, joiner of Worcester, "a soldier in the service of Charles 2nd;" Ben. Lock, "a soldier in the trained bands of Worcester for more than 12 years;" Wm. Friend, of Worcester, clothier, "who served in the late expedition in Ireland, and was at the surrender of Charlemont, having also two sons slain in our service;" Richard Munslow, of Worcester, broadcloth weaver, "who faithfully served Charles 2nd, in whose service he lost his hearing;" Wm. Hughes, weaver, "who by reason of a lameness which hath seized on his limbs is disabled from following his employment;" Edwd. Robinson of Worcester, tailor, "whose son served his majesty in Flanders and was a soldier in the reign of Charles 1st;" and Henry Pierce, "who served us as a private centinel during all the late wars with Ireland and almost lost his eyesight." Queen Anne nominated—Thos. Johnson, weaver of Worcester, "who served King William the 3rd of glorious memory in the late wars against France;" and Richard Morton, "citizen and freeman of Worcester, who served the government in the late wars with affectionate loyalty, but being now grown in years and a very numerous family to maintain." Subsequently, "John Child, who served King William in Flanders, was taken prisoner, underwent great severities, and lost his left eye." Still

later, Edward Andrews, weaver of Worcester, "who bore arms in defence of George 1st at the time of the unnatural rebellion."

Returning to the appointment of almsmen at the restoration, I find that some difficulty was experienced in satisfying their claims, as appears by the following documents, which are here given as interesting illustrations of the period under review:—

"To the reverend and right worshipful dean and chapter of the cathedral church, the humble petition of the almsmen belonging to the said church now showeth—Whereas, by our grants from his Majesty it is expressed that there should be provided for everie on of us an house and commens adjacent to the said cathedral, which is not provided for us, some of our companie have houses, and why not all? Consider of this. Be ther anie almsmen anywher but have housen? And shall wee as bee the king's almesmen be without o'r allowance for the same as all others his Majesties almsmen elsewhere have? We are pore men and most of us have bin men that have ventered our lives in his Majesties cause and have lost our estates, and our desier is that wee may have a livelyhoud, that we may doe our duties in waytinge on your worships, in obedience to the worship of GOD and to the comfort of our own soales. And as in duty bound we shall ever pray to GOD to continue your worshippes happynes and long prosperitie, and that we may have our gownes and a seate to site in the church as it was formerly, and that we may have 12*d.* a peace for everie grave as is maed in the church if we must sweep or pay for sweeping, and ther be five seats in the church that five men have the profit, we know no other reson but that eche of them should sweep when theyr turne comes as well as we, so hoping your worships will consider of this and give us a good answeare."

The following fragment seems to have been a subsequent petition by the same parties, and will be read with some interest:—

"To show unto your worships from the foundation we had our wages, howsen, gownes, wood, and corn, and our commons, a pint of beare, and a monke lofe, everie on of us everie

morning, and a table seet for us in the greate halle, but some have said it was in the time of popery. But as it is informed to us that when our commons was taken awaie that ther was in leu of that a medow to sumer ten kine and fifteen loodes of hay to winter them, and sence we come into our places Mr. Writter com to Thos. Lewes, on of our companie, to take this grownd, thinking wee had it in our handes, as we conceeve his father rented it in former time of the elmsmen, but these men sold it for £5 a peace, and sence it have bine kept awaie. In Hereford they have now their howsen and their commens and all other their dues as belong unto them. And in all places where be any elmsmen they have howsen in the first place, in no place be elmsmen but they have howsen if nothing else, much more ought the king's majesties elmsmen to have. Wee desire nothing but what is our dues. Some have houses of our company alredy. We would have put up a petition unto our bishop at the visitation but the late dean wished us not, saying the dean and chapter would see as we should have our dues, but did not. And now we have but on stricke* of wheate and on stricke of berly, and there is stoped from us out of that 10*s.* 10*d.* which have not bin stoped afore these to last y'rs this fortie years afore, for in former time ther was a seate over ageynst the pulpite for us to site on to hear the word of GOD with greate letters riten 'This is the elmsmen seate.' Many will justifie it so. We would entrete your worships that wee may have our gownes made agenst the time it will be to y'rs sence thes war made. The late deane promised us that we should have them. It was a costome that we shold have 12*d.* a peece for everie grave as was made in the church, but letly by som of the quire hite have bine turned backe; why then shuld we be comanded to pay 20*s.* a yeere for (seats?) in the church as we shall not have that as is our dues. On of the quire men asked us if we did know what was the five things as was expressed in our paternes (patents?), namely, profites, wages, fees, duties, and allowances. We answered no. Then said he 'You are left in the dark then.' Mr. Thornbery, being then the sub-dean, said to three of our companie, 'Poore men! I am sory that you should wayte and tend for so small matter, but if you had your dues your places were worth 20 marks a yeere a peece.' And we are sure he would tell us what was our dues. Many have reed our dues in stattute books, and the late deane likewise have reed it to us, and ten men ought to be nurst up within the precincts of the church."

* One bushel.

Then they recite the heads of one of their patents, or order of admission to the rank of almsmen, and go on to say—

"Most of us have ventered our lifes and lost our astates in the late king's cause, and doe you think that threpence a day will maynteyn on of us and to pay for our houses everie quarter &s. Must the king's majesties almesmen bage (beg) for the rest to mainteyn them? And as you sey we must have cloth of 3s. 4d. a yard, but the late deane seyd that as worth 3s. 4d. was worth 10s. now, wheat in those dayes was sold for 10d. a strike, and all other thinges likewise, and the late dean had a stattute book in his hande and tould Dr. Dowsell that 'I and you are sworn to see thes men everie yere to hav their gownes.' But if the late deane had not sent himself for the draper to deliver so moch cloth and he wold see it payd for, and hee gave order for the red rose on the sleeve."

No doubt these claims, though somewhat dogmatically set forth, were satisfied, as no further mention of them appears on the books. Other difficulties likewise beset the chapter in regard to the recovery of their estates: they were parties to a lawsuit with Henry Willetts, who had purchased the reversion of certain lands from the parliamentary trustees, but at the restoration, being unable to produce any assignment from one Baskerville, of Wolverley, the former lessee, the dean and chapter granted a lease to Baskerville's successor. Much controversy was likewise had with Lord Windsor, the dean and chapter offering his lordship £200 "to buy him a set of coach horses to relinquish his bargains in Stoke;" and engaging at the same time to satisfy the purchasers. Lord Windsor refused, and then they offered him a lease for twenty-one years of the rectory of Stoke, worth £60 a year. A lease was made to Lord Windsor of 300 acres in the manor of Stoke Prior; but—

"Mem. that after this lease was sealed the Lord Windsor

would not accept of it, so it remaineth in the hands of me, S. RICHARDSONE."

Subsequently a lease was accepted by his lordship of the farm called Stoke Court, but the details of the transaction do not appear.

Then again the relations of the Worcester chapter with their sovereign were not of the most agreeable kind. The first Charles had interfered with them by forbidding leases on lives and ordering that they should be for terms of years; and Charles II. wrote them an affectionate letter in 1661 to the same effect, also praying them to improve the rents of their estates to aid the repair of the cathedral, and for the augmentation of the maintenance of the vicars choral to £16 or £20 per annum each; and he further evinced his princely care for the behests of religion by strictly enjoining bishops, deans and chapters, and all patrons of livings, to provide for the sufficient maintenance of vicars and curates, so that no benefice should produce less than £80 a year.

The two great requirements of the restored king were character and money: the one he never obtained, but the other he was constantly squeezing out of his subjects by every possible method and contrivance, so that the pension he enjoyed from France for selling his country sufficed very inadequately for the satisfying of his excesses. In the three years ending with 1663 the dean and chapter of Worcester had helped the king to £1,000, a large sum for those days, besides which they had to supply a certain number of soldiers for the wars. In the charge for this item for the year 1660 appears the following:—

"Belts cost 2*s.* 8*d.* each; swords, 8*s.*; firelocks, 16*s.*; pickes, 6*s.* 4*d.*; six sets of bandilears, 15*s.*; 3 lb. gunpowder, 4*s.*"

This custom of supplying soldiers was an ancient feudal duty, before the establishment of a standing army, incumbent on all who held possessions under the king. Later in the century, when internal peace had been restored to the country by a more wise and vigorous government, the dean and chapter were liable to maintain only one light horse, rider, and arms, and £10 per annum was allowed for this purpose. In addition to all these difficulties and burdens, great trouble and expense were occasioned to the chapter by the demands of the queen mother for £1,000, "arrears of fee-farm rents due during the late troubles" from 1642 to 1647. The fee-farm rent amounted to nearly £200 a year, and is probably alluded to in the following earlier entry:—

"Paid 16 Oct., 1611, at Bewdley, to the hands of Mr. Simon Harvey, receavor to the prince his highness, for the annual rent received out of this church due at Michaelmas last past, £193*s.* 1*s.* 8*d.*"

Such a claim, made by a woman whose sinister influence over the late king had greatly conduced to the troubles of the nation—made too after an interval of twenty years had elapsed, and regardless of the distress and difficulties experienced by the chapter in the collection of their rents at the time in question, and of the large amount spent by them, almost to their own undoing, in the defence of the king and his policy—must now be a matter for utter astonishment, and could only have been made at a time when Englishmen had lost all courage and power of resistance. Moreover the order was imperative, and to be obeyed within the space of nine or ten days! The dean and chapter, already heavily oppressed with liabilities, sent a letter in reply to the claim "to the Hon. Sir Hen. Wood

and the rest of the commissioners for her majesty the queen mother at Denmark House, in the Strand,"* pointing out the great hardship of the demand, and showing that of the tenants concerned some were dead and others gone away into Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Surrey, and they had no right to call them to account; that Col. Sandys had of the church moneys, for the king's service, above £200; that in 1644, when Sir Henry Spiller, the queen's sergeant, often came to Mr. Tomkins, the king being then at Worcester, to demand the rent, Mr. Tomkins answered him that no rents were to be got, yet he directed Sir Henry to such tenants as were most likely to pay any; and Mr. Dowdeswell was requested to speak with Sir William Russell, and see if he knew of any more money having been paid for the king's service. This was on July 7, 1666. A reply was received, in which it was intimated that the dean and chapter were not to be excused unless they could show that they had already paid the rents to the usurpers of the time. Hereupon they wrote the following letter to Mr. Somers, their attorney (father of the celebrated Lord Somers):—

"Worcester, July, 1666.

"Mr. Somers, I am required by Mr. Dean and the chapter of this church to signify unto you that Mr. Boys hath given us notice that the commissioners for the queen mother at Denmark House demand an arreare of rent of us from the yeare 1642 unto 1647, and that we shall not be excused except we can make it appeare the said rente was paid by our tenants to ye usurpers of that time. It is here said that you very well understand how this church was oppressed at that time, and that your testimony will be of great use to cleare this affaire unto the commissioners. Mr. Boys is to appear before them

* In the time of Queen Mary there was a Denmark House in Fenchurch-street, the residence of the Russian ambassador.

again on Thursday next, and I ernestlie ask of you from Mr. Deane and ye chapter to accompany him unto them and to testify what you know concerning the payment of these rents unto the then usurped powers, which I am confident your justice and kindness will not deny unto ye earnest desire of

"Yr affores'd frend and servant

"JOHN BRETON.

"Mrs. Somers, with all hers, are in good health and desire to have their kind services sent to you with mine."

A letter was also written "to Mr. Thos. Boys, an attorney at the Red Hart, Fetter-lane, London;" telling him what to plead *in re* the queen's arrears, "especially that all the writings of the church were embezeld and rifled in ye late rebellious season. There was no body or limbe of a chapter at Worcester for most of these years, yet ye rents are demanded. The tenants were under ye exorbitant power of rebellious garrisons and insolent committees, which reserved ye rents for ye years in question." At the bottom of the letter it is added that Mr. Summers had been desired "to go along with ye to ye commissioners, if his testimony may serve for our discharge, which we passionately desire may be procured at this time."

The following interesting letter was the reply:—

"Rev. Sirs,—According to your order I went to Mr. Cheeslett with Mr. Street's interest and my own touching your business of the charge for arrears of the queen's fee-farm rent from 1642 till 1647, who seemed willing to have done anie courtezie of freinshipp but told me it was gone from him unto the queen's commissioners at Denmark House, whither I went, and after my admittance to them they demanded whether I were provided to answer the charge. I answered I did not understand anie certain charge in perticular, nor had I anie copie, whereupon they called for the charge, and it was read by Mr. Morley, one of their attendants, who also told them he had given it to Mr. Oley at Worcester and had acquainted him

with it several times. Then Sir Petter Balle demanded what answer I wd. give to it being so read. My answer first of all, the whole corporation (except one) for those times were dead; but that took not. Then I told them all the records and books and acquittances were plundered and gone; yet that took not neither. But Sir Henry Wood took me upp somewhat there, and told me if I could make it appear that your rents were paid to the usurpers you were acquitted by the act of p'don, otherwise there was a recovery for it, and it must be paid. I thereupon humbly desired their hon'rs to give me some further reasonable time to satisfy them on that point, for it was impossible for me to do it then. Then Sir Peter Ball and Sir Henry Wintour spake more mildly and said it was reason to give time, yet all I could get is till Thursday senight next, and then they expect y'r further answer and proof and the usurpers receipts of these rents. There were many more arguments used on both sides, but nothing would or will satisfy them saveing only this proof. Sir, I think you may do well to send for y'r bailiffs or tenants to make affidavits before Mr. Street (he being a master in chancery) how and to whom these rents were paid. I believe these affidavits may satisfy the commissioners, but please you to be advised by Mr. Street and of what further answer to give. Mr. Morley remembers him kindly to Mr. Oley but presseth either this proof must be made or else we must submit to the commissioners or to him. What to be done is with submission and craved p'don, I might refuse, for I had noe such order. Sir, this I have hastely done for the conveniency of the messenger. Our fears are great; GOD grant our dangers be noe more. This bearer hath the gazet. I shal not send perticklars because various, but subscribe, sir, your mo. humble serv't

"THOS. BOYS.

"Red Hart, Fetter-lane, 2d July, 1666."

The cause lingered for three months, having probably been interrupted by the great fire of London, but in October it was resumed by Mr. Oley writing to Mr. Morley, requesting him to get the subject again postponed. He uses this touching appeal:—

"I conceave the matter is wholly in your power. and I do entreate you, if you will do anything for an ancient friend (whom you knew in times of great affliction to be reall) to show it in this matter concerning a church which suffred as

much as anie church in England. I commend this to your care, or in y'r absence to ye care of Mr. Tomkins, who was also a great sufferer, beseeching GOD to bless you and him."

Mr. Oley also writes to "the much honoured Thos. Street, Esq., burgess (M.P.) for the citie of Worcester, at the house of Comons in Parl't at Westminster," informing him that the day of appearance before the queen's commissioners was near, and that when the queen's collectors and Mr. Morley were come he hoped to end the matter by a friendly treaty, also entreating Mr. Street to get some person to wait all day, and, if the cause were called on, to inform them of what was suggested in this letter; also enclosing a petition to the king setting forth that in some of the years for which the fee-farm rent had been claimed it was "paid, with other moneys, to such as served your majesty's father, of happy memory, in the warres, and in other years were seazed on by the parliament;" praying that there might be no proceedings against the dean and chapter till her majesty's return and her special pleasure were known in the affair. Mr. Street attended the queen's council on the 29th Nov., 1666, together with Mr. Tomkins, "and after some debating it was their pleasure that it should be referred to Mr. Chislett to examine, and from him again be sent to you, with his opinion of your evidences offered by you. On Saturday I have agreed to attend Mr. Chislett and cleere all things to him as I can. To-morrow Mr. Tomkins leaves this place and moves towards Worcester."

The petition to the king had evidently had its effect, for even a Charles could not be quite insensible to the sufferings incurred on his behalf by "the faithful city." No more appears on the books in regard to this subject, and no doubt either a com-

promise was made or the dean and chapter escaped altogether from this most heartless and infamous demand. The "Queen Mother" died in August, 1669, in the monastery of Colombe, near Paris.

In the transaction of this and other business relating to the dean and chapter heavy expenses were incurred, and much travelling by Mr. Oley the treasurer and other agents, especially in procuring materials for the restoration of the cathedral. One of these bills for travelling expenses in 1662 included coaches, heavy fees at Somerset House, watch mending, three pens for 1*s.* 4*d.*, poor cripples, money given at almshouses, for shoes, stockings, socks, ribbon, and mending clothes, and the veritable "Half-moon bill" remains thus:—

	£.	s.	d.
"For a picke (pike) - - -	0	2	0
For a tench - - - -	0	2	6
For rost beef - - - -	0	0	4
For boter - - - -	0	0	2
For wine - - - - -	0	0	0
For bred and beare - - -	0	2	4
For firing - - - -	0	0	8"

The "no wine" item was a hint to the traveller by mine host of the Half-Moon that he had been expected to order something more costly than beer.

When the treasurer, Mr. Oley, was in London his letters were sometimes directed to be left at "the Cock and Ram, Fleet Street, f'r Jackson, near Conduit;"* at other times "left with Garthwait, bookseller, at ye north dore of Paul's," with request to him to send them on. Some years previous to Mr. Oley's treasurership, and probably during the

* A cistern was added to the Standard, in Fleet-street, in 1471, and another was made at Fleetbridge in 1478. "Ram-alley" appears in Strype's map opposite Fetter-lane.

civil wars, a journey was taken to London by one of the officers of the chapter (name not given) for the purchase of armour, and he left a "mem." of his expedition headed thus: "A remembrance of what was bestowed at London for furniture for Mr. Deane and Chapter and for armour for six souldiers." It appears that before starting he had his horse shod and rode to Woodstock (about fifty miles) on the first day; the second night he spent at Uxbridge, and the third day he dined in London. Generally he paid 6*d.* for his breakfast, and 8*d.* for dinner. When in town he purchased a pair of shoes, which he duly charged in the account; and on his return home his horse was shod again. The Worcester carrier who brought down this armour put up in Mylke-street, London.* Journeys to London were turned to account for the purchase of many articles which could not be obtained in the country—books, armour, huge boxes of wax candles, and many other indispensables. Wax candles and tapers were in the early part of the last century purchased of "Mr. Isaac Barrett, at ye Beehive, St. James's, Haymarket, facing Pall Mall." In one year a bill from that establishment for the winter's supply of candles was £20. 18*s.* 2*d.*, and in another £25. 0*s.* 10*d.*; they were charged at 20*d.* a lb., 100 lb. of wax lights amounting to £8. 6*s.* 8*d.* The charges also for torches, lamps, and lanterns, raised the item of lighting to something considerable per annum. In the year 1662 occurs the item—

"Six torches to Mr. Brigges to light the dean fro' church 5th Nov., 6*s.*"

* "So called of milk sold there" (Stowe). It opens out of Cheapside. This and similar side streets, now occupied by great Manchester houses, were formerly noted for old-fashioned inns, at which carriers had put up from time immemorial.

This was evidently connected with the gunpowder plot commemoration. There was a globe lantern "in the body of the church" and a lamp in the choir, also a lamp or lantern at each prebendal house; and in 1780 negociations were made with the city lamp-lighter to undertake the lighting of the lamps within the college precincts.

This long episode in the onward march of events will be excused by my brother antiquaries, and let us now return to the succession of deans. Dr. Warmstry dying in 1665, Dr. William Thomas was appointed in his stead. He had been ousted from a vicarage by the parliamentary party, and then subsisted by teaching a school in Wales. Some years after his appointment to the deanery of Worcester he was consecrated bishop of St. David's, but was allowed to hold this deanery in commendam, until his elevation to the mitre of Worcester. Dean Thomas, whose remains lie on the south side of the nave of the cathedral, was much lauded as an illustrious example of piety to GOD, loyalty to the king, and charity to his neighbours.

Dr. G. Hickes succeeded Dr. Thomas as dean of Worcester in 1683. He was a clever antiquary and learned in northern literature, as shown in his "Thesaurus." With the assistance of Bishop Thomas and Prebendary Hopkins (who was at that time a great luminary in classical and general literature and antiquities), he made many regulations for the better managing the revenues and administering the government and discipline of the cathedral; the copyholders for lives were brought to a regular way of fining, and the dean and prebendaries to a systematic course of residence; also the school and library were better regulated. Like his bishop (Thomas) he was a non-juror, refusing to take the

oaths to William III., and was thereupon deprived of his preferment. During his period of office, namely in 1687, James II. visited Worcester, and at the cathedral touched a large number of patients for "the king's evil," but performed his devotions at the Roman Catholic chapel, and, at the subsequent entertainment at the palace, disgusted the poor bishop by introducing a chaplain of his own. It has been recently stated, by a writer in "Notes and Queries," though I know not on what authority, that three chests of manuscripts left by Dean Hickes were consigned to the custody of his bankers after his decease in 1715; and owing to the dissolution of the firm the premises have been lately cleared out and the whole of these valuable collections committed to the flames in one of the furnaces at the New River head. The last dean of the seventeenth century was Wm. Talbot, against whose election the ejected Dr. Hicks affixed a protest on the great door of the choir, and for this act he was compelled to abscond until Lord Somers obtained an act of council to stay all proceedings against him, and he was afterwards consecrated suffragan bishop of Thetford. He lived for a quarter of a century in obscurity, and now lies in St. Margaret's churchyard, Westminster. Dean Talbot, when promoted to the see of Oxford, brought a bill into parliament to enable bishops to grant leases of mines without the consent of the chapters, a measure which, although the bill did not pass, is said to have "alarmed the whole nation." He also urged on the dean and chapter to advance the fines on their leases—another most unpopular measure. He was strongly attached to Dr. Samuel Clarke. During the time of this dean, that celebrated scholar, Richard Bentley, was a prebendary of Worcester.

We must now revert awhile to some minor incidents and occurrences in connection with the cathedral history of the seventeenth century. The appointment of lecturers or preachers at the cathedral has been heretofore spoken of as a result of puritanical influence. At the time of the parliamentary survey it was stated that "the preacher for forty-four sermons yearly upon the LORD'S day in the cathedral" received £22 for his services. Dr. Warmstry, who many years before his appointment as dean was somewhat in favour with the people on account of his opposition to Romanising tendencies, had however refused the office of lecturer, probably owing to the unsettled times, or to the fact that a petition from the corporation to the king, that a prebendal stall should be attached to the lectureship, does not appear to have been successful. Soon after the restoration the bishop of Worcester took "prudent care in settling choice persons to perform lectures in his diocese, by which means his majesty's good subjects may hear pure and wholesome doctrine." There were then four lecturers at the cathedral. By the act of uniformity no person was allowed to be a lecturer unless he declared his assent and consent to the thirty-nine articles, &c.; and in 1665, Archbishop Sheldon issued an order that any incumbent might prevent a lecturer preaching by occupying the pulpit himself. In the previous year the Worcester corporation had ordered that the £40 granted to the lecturer should be discontinued, and that he must rely on voluntary contributions; but soon afterwards a reaction occurred on this subject, and the mayor and aldermen were desired "to take care for the supply of the lecturer at the cathedral church," and Dr. Laurance was accordingly requested to be lecturer at £40 per annum,

with voluntary contributions besides. It is probable that the dean and chapter also provided a lecturer on their own account, but in the depressed condition of the capitular funds, owing to the great pressure of circumstances, this was felt to be a heavy charge. The exigencies of the state, under a reckless and profligate king, the great fire of London, and other adverse circumstances, had drained the resources of the country, and symptoms of pecuniary distress are apparent in Mr. Oley's accounts. The audit expenses were greatly curtailed, and even the dean and prebendaries in 1666 abandoned their usual "dividend" or income, a fine of £100 which accidentally fell in shortly after being all that was allotted among the chapter that year. Their circumstances were not much improved in 1672, when compelled to sell to Dr. Turner a quantity of rich arras for £150, to pay off certain debts. This arras or tapestry was probably taken from the altar. Nor was this monetary disability confined to the dean and chapter, for Mr. Smyth, the rector of Hartlebury, on being solicited for the payment of certain dues, entreated their patience from July till Michaelmas (1667), "for monye now can not bee at p'sent p'cured if it were for a man's life, such are these p'sent times." The dean and chapter therefore determined to avoid the expense of the lectureship, and—

"Ordered that the prebends, minor canons, and others, preach the afternoon sermons on the LORD'S day, in place of a lecturer, supplied before the warrs by the city of Worcester, which cost £280 for the last seven years."

More stringent regulations were likewise made for the regular residence of the prebends, to preach on fixed times or to find as substitutes "approved

divines according to a list thereof framed and to be placed in the quire of the said church where it may remain visible, that so all persons may be satisfied and the church saved of this charge." Dean Thomas had set an excellent example by constantly attending the six o'clock prayers in the cathedral, and by so ordering the constant residence of the canons that one or two of them generally officiated at the communion and two were always in residence. Among the articles of enquiry at the bishop's visitation in 1677 was the question, "Is the afternoon Sunday lecture in your church so ordered, and the lecturer so approved, and doth he so perform, as the late act of uniformity enjoynes?" The custom was to have sermons preached in the nave, but the prayers were read in the choir; the origin of the custom arising at a time when no sermons were preached in the parish churches, and this was done to give the various parishioners an opportunity of attending the cathedral and hearing some eminent preacher. But the cathedral lecturing seems to have received its quietus in 1685 thus:—

"Whereas the congregation at the sermon on Sundaies in the afternoon is very inconsiderable, and is a pretence for many people, children, and servants of the city, to be absent from their parish churches (where there is constant preaching, and is or ought to be catechizing too), and yet never come to the college, but loyter and spend the time profanely elsewhere, to the neglect of their duty and the dishonour of GOD; whereas if they were at their own parish churches their parents or masters would see them engage in the parochiall religious duties; it is therefore decreed that the lecturers or preachers of the said sermon shall have no standing pay for the future, but it is agreed that the minor canons of the said church shall have £10 a-year conferred upon them as a mark of respect to their character and superiority above the lay clerks, which shall be disposed of by special appointment of the dean yearly at the audit, as an encouragement

to those that are most diligent and deserve best in the discharge of their duty."

The last we hear of the subject of lecturing is in a minute of answers given to the bishop's enquiries at the visitation of 1692:—

"There is no afternoon lecture on Sundays required by the statutes, but there has been an afternoon sermon formerly preached by one Dr. Wright with the leave of the dean and chapter. at the charge of the city, till the warrs. Since the restoration there has bin also an afternoon sermon preached by some of the minor canons appointed and paid by the dean and chapter till the year 1685, when it was laid down for such reasons as the then lord bishop thought sufficient."

Special sermons were preached on particular occasions, for which separate payments were made, as for instance, Mr. Badger received £1 for preaching the gunpowder plot sermon in 1685.

The discipline of the cathedral establishment during the period now under review seems to have been as defective as before the civil wars. The prescribed term of local residence was kept by but few of the prebends, notwithstanding the alternative of heavy fines, which however were but seldom levied. Even the celebrated and conscientious Dr. Hough, prebend of the third stall, and afterwards bishop of Worcester, was a defaulter, being fined for not having kept twenty-one days' continuous residence in 1687. Dr. John Hall, one of the prebends, excused his non-residence by pleading that he was Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, by which he was privileged against such requirements. Others sent medical certificates of ill health. Bishop Stillingfleet wished to see the residence of the prebends more regular and constant, but found he could not accomplish this without royal inter-

ference; for although the dean and chapter had some years previously enforced a certain residence by an act of their own it varied from the terms of their statute and therefore was void and could not be enforced. The prebends objected that the statutes themselves were obscure and ambiguous on the point of residence; and the bishop died before his excellent intentions could be realised. Dr. Cartwright, a prebend, for a long time "lay under the fame of incontinence and intemperance." Daniel Kendrick, a minor canon, married clandestinely, "under pretence of an invalid licence," Mrs. Beatrice Bromley to Mr. J. Griffith, "and without banns thrice asked, to the great dishonour of GOD, the scandal of the church, and the unspeakable grief of the surviving parent of the said Mistress Beatrice." He was consequently suspended for three years, and a similar punishment was awarded to Griffiths, but both were subsequently restored on making due submission. Some members of the church walked about the cathedral during sermon time; the deputy sacrist sometimes avoided communicating himself when officiating at the altar; and the minor canons would occasionally be seen with "undecent garments under their surplices," and were ordered to wear presbyters' gowns or cassocks. The gravest offender however was Rowland Dennis, a minor canon and vicar of Himbleton, whose vice and immorality for a period of twenty years was a stain on the establishment. In 1685 he was suspended for three years for scandalizing the earl of Plymouth, then lord lieutenant of the county, by saying he was "a lunatic man;" but having apologised to the earl, and expressed his sense of the greatness of his crime, he was pardoned and restored, after having been admonished to keep his conversation sober

and regular, to forbear the frequenting of taverns, and to avoid such company as might tempt him into a vicious course of life, also that he should be more diligent in the discharge of his duty in the quire, "in which likewise he had bin egregiously remisse." The chantor's rolls however continued to show the repeated absence from Divine service of this Rowland Dennis, who found a fit companion in Richard Browne, another lay clerk, both very intemperate men, and frequently but uselessly admonished. Dennis was also guilty of irreverent and undutiful behaviour to the dean, and on one occasion appeared in the choir in such a state as to be compelled to leave off reading and prayers and make a hasty retreat out of the sacred building. For this the dean read to him the statute De Corrigendis Excessibus, the effect of which was ludicrously small. He was expelled in 1705 and died in 1713. The aforesaid Rd. Browne, in addition to his drunkenness and general loose and disorderly conversation, lamed one Brice, a king's scholar whom he met in the cloisters, and that without any provocation. The tavern seems to have been the great pest, and the most rigid measures were necessary to correct its influence; the following resolution was therefore adopted:—

"To p'vent all scandall which may hereafter arise by frequenting of public houses and misdemeanors which may happen thereupon, the dean and chapter strictly command all the members of the quire to avoid spending their time in tipling, and more particularly that no person p'sume at anie time to sing anie song whatsoever either in consort or alone in any of the said houses."

For the first offence they were to be admonished, for the second suspended three months, and for the

third deprived of office. Most disaffected and irreverent, too, was the general conduct of the singing men, who neglected the six o'clock morning service, set at nought all admonition as to attending the sacrament, were frequently absent from sermons, took no notice of their superiors coming into the choir, and while constantly making application for increased salaries abundantly proved that already they had sufficient wherewith to enrich the pockets of the publicans. Ingratitude was also one of their sins: some of their number would occasionally take a journey to his Majesty's chapel at Westminster, either to gain musical experience or to assist in the services there, and were liberally allowed two weeks' absence, besides the time they were engaged at Westminster, and on the whole they had been treated by the chapter with kindness and forbearance, which they returned with contumely. One more specimen of the singing men and I have done for the present: Roger Fosbrooke, in 1684, in defiance of the remonstrances of his superiors, persisted in attaching himself to the "town musick," which means "the company of waits," who in those days received regular salaries from the corporation, at whose feasts they played, as also at other public festivities and in taverns. At length the alternative was presented to him to quit the society of waits or resign his place as lay clerk—

"And to prevent all further scandal that may arise upon this matter it is hereby decreed and enacted that for the future every lay clerk, before his admission, shall, with one sufficient surety, give a bond to the dean and chapter in the sum of £100, that neither he the said clerk so to be admitted, nor his wife, nor any other for him, shall keep any tavern, alehouse, or victualling house and that he will not accept or perform any service in any publick musick, nor at any time playe in any public house whatsoever."

Insubordination at this time appears to have pervaded every grade of the body ecclesiastical. The vergers and almsmen were frequently on the disorderly list. One Gabriel Mence, to whom in 1670 the dean and chapter had kindly assigned the use of the rooms over the north porch, could not content himself with their fair and legitimate occupancy without carrying on his trade of a cobbler there, to the great desecration of the building, and so he was ejected. Hugh Prescott, bedesman, was judicially admonished for causing a scandalous letter to be written to the dean, charging his superiors with detaining his wages, and causing the names of persons of honour to be forged and subscribed to the said letter. The injunctions by the bishop in 1692 were to the effect that—

"Two of ye most able (almsmen) for bodily strength be appointed monthly by the sacrist to walk about ye cloisters in ye time of divine service on Sundays and do their best endeavours to prevent and hinder any wanton or scandalous behaviour or communication, and that the rest take care that none walk or talk in the church, and that they keep the porch clear and free from ye disturbance of clamarous criples, vagabonds, and beggars, when ye people go from church. And since there is a late provision made for the sitting of women in the quire, we ordain and appoint that none of them be permitted to sitt in ye organ loft or to go up there in time of divine service. And to prevent the present annoyances by too frequent burial of the dead near the porch of the cathedral we do enjoin that the interment in the churchyard be regular and alike over all the enclosed parts of it, and that the gravemaker shall not presume to bury on the western side or the south-west part of the eastern till the neglected ground on the east be filled with graves, except any citizen or others shall desire to be buried nigh their near relations. And we do also enjoin that no tomb shall be erected without faculty from the ordinary."

The desecration of the house of GOD was

evidently almost as great in Protestant times as under the older dynasty. It was not only the cobbler above the north porch and clamorous cripples begging alms at the door, but burdens and even carriages were taken through the cathedral, and that too in the time of divine service, while the sexton permitted great crowds of boys to ascend the tower on assize Sundays and do much damage to the leads and other portions of the building. "Boys will be boys;" human nature is prone to mischief, and, as some one says—

> ——— "Grievously inclines
> To be but carnal, even in sound divines."

Mr. Pepys, in his diary, gives us a tolerably correct notion of the use to which churches were put in those days, namely, for the dissemination of news and scandal from pew to pew, lounging, talking, flirtation, and courtship. In a tract written relative to St. Paul's at a somewhat earlier period it is said that "the south alley was for usury and popery, the north for simony and the horse fair, in the midst for all kind of bargains, meetings, brawlings, murthers, conspiracies, and the font for ordinary payments of money as well known to all men as the beggar knows his dish." But let it not be presumed that this kind of desecration was peculiar to the Protestant era, for long before "the purge" had been applied to the church the behaviour at divine service was abominable. Some men would not hesitate to bring their dogs and hawks, make bargains, chat, and babble "as it were in a fayre," while "some on maydens stare, and some on wives with wanton countenance." Heathen temples and Christian churches were alike used for business purposes:

"Thus is the church defiled with vilany,
And in steede of prayer and goodly orison,
Are used shameful bargains and tales of ribawdry,
Jettinges and mockinges and great derision.
There fewe are or none of perfect devotion.
And when our LORD is consecrate in fourme of bread,
Therby walks a knave, his bonet on his head."

"Before the altars he to and fro doth wander
With e'en as great devotion as a gander."

In 1672, the dean and chapter of Worcester ordered—

"That to prevent the frequent misdemeanours of boys and rude persons in the church and the insolence of beggars, whose design and custom is to extort almes from ye ch'men through their continual clamours, the dean and chapter do appoint Thos. Howard to the office of a bedle for the church and cloysters and precincts of the churchyard, and do allow him such salary for his paines as the former bedles have had."

Soon afterwards a pair of gates was set up at the north porch "to prevent profanation and annoyance," and a brick wall erected in the churchyard before the ruins of the leaden steeple, "to hinder the making of a noisome dunghill there." Swine and turkeys had for ages been an ever recurring nuisance not only in the sacred precincts but in the city at large, and stringent orders were made that the owners should forfeit 3*s.* 4*d.* for every instance of those creatures being found "taking their walks abroad." And to put an end to "nuisances and indecencies in the messuages and dwelling-houses within the sanctuary on the churchyard side of the parish of St. Michael," no one was to make a purprestur (encroachment) or enclosure in the said yard, or the said houses to be occupied by smiths' forges, curriers, or shops; outhouses erected against the north wall of the church were pulled down, and generally the precincts were

ordered to be secured against suspicious people, "who find an entrance some way or other by night." Notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of porters and gatekeepers these suspicious persons would somehow find their way into the sacred enclosure, and on several occasions infants were dropped there. Thus in 1674 a young child was found at the door of Mr. Thornburgh the treasurer. Three yards of flannel and a coat were purchased for the poor innocent and a nurse engaged at *2s.* a week; the child however fell sick, and notwithstanding the administration of powders and syrups it died; its shroud cost *1s.*; coffin, *1s 10d.*; grave, ringing, and burial, *2s. 6d.*; "cakes and beer at ye buryall," *7s.* In 1698 the mother of one of these foundlings was apprehended and dealt with according to law; and a year or two afterwards a messenger named Phillips charged £8. 15*s.* 10*d.* "for going to Oxford twice to apprehend and bring downe ye father of Katharine Price's child, for keeping the mother and child whilst she lay in, and other charges." The offenders were subsequently compelled to make the only reparation they could to society for their immorality, Mr. Dean uniting them in the bonds of matrimony. The fees paid on that occasion to the dean and his clerk were 6*s.* If the parents of the children dropped in college-green or the precincts could not be discovered the infants were generally provided for or put out apprentice. The latest entry of this kind is the following:—

"Elizabeth Crowther was in April, 1781, delivered of a bastard child at the porter's lodge in the college precincts, who is chargeable to the dean and chapter, and she having on oath before C. Trubshaw Withers, Esq., charged William Reding, late of St. Nicholas, gentn. and officer in the marine

service, with being the father, 'Reding's mother, in order to prevent the execution of a warrant on her son, binds herself in £100 to pay all expenses for the keep of the child and to save the dean and chapter harmless."

The crowded burials in the churchyard had for centuries, as before stated, been the worst of all nuisances. In 1644 the Friars' Orchard in Angel-lane had been obtained as a burying-ground in consequence of the shocking state of the cathedral cemetery, especially towards the west and south end, but the evil continued in an almost unabated form owing to the indulgence allowed to or rather claimed by the citizens to bury near their kindred. As to interments within the cathedral it is mentioned that in 1666 £5 was paid for the burial of Lady Lyttelton there; a few years afterwards it was ordered that, to preserve the choir from the incumbrance of burials, for the future there should be no interment there; and at a much later period the aisles and the crypt were chosen for burials in order to raise a fund for the embellishment of the cathedral, the restoration of the decayed ornamental parts thereof, and for purchasing approved books for the library.

Before we take leave of the seventeenth century there are various miscellaneous and unconnected matters to be noted, the first of which is in reference to the privileges of the cathedral. The following were the answers sent in 1671 to certain questions put by the government:—

"1. The corporation of the city hath no jurisdiction within the precincts of the cathedral church, for that the said church lies in the county of Worcester and not in the city. 2. The king's writts are executed by the sheriff of the county and his officers within the precincts of the said church and by none other. 3. All public taxes are made by the authority of the

justices of the peace of the county of Worcester, except subsidies granted by convocation. 4. The mayor, in the absence of the archdeacon, usually sits in his stall, and next to the archdeacon when he is present, and the aldermen and other citizens in the next contiguous stalls, none belonging to them of right but only by the appointment of ye dean and chapter out of civil and Christian respects to invite them to the solemn worship of GOD in the cathedral. 5. The citie hath noe jurisdiction within the cathedral or precincts thereof, nor hath the dean and chapter anie within the city."

The dean and chapter by their statutes were charged with the payment of £40 yearly toward the repair of highways leading from this city to London and Gloucester, &c. In the seventeenth century, when every opportunity was sought to fasten quarrels on the church, the dean and chapter were frequently "presented" at the county sessions for neglecting to repair the causeways from Sidbury to Clerkenleap, also to Redhill Cross and Norton. On one occasion Mr. Gower of Woodhall received the remonstrances of the dean and chapter for not laying out moneys deposited in his hands for repairing the highway leading from his house to Worcester, and which had led to the "great clamour of the country, whose mouths are hereupon causelessly opened against the church." But in the year 1665-6 the following petition was presented from the inhabitants of St. Peter's:—

"By reason of the distraction of the late unhappy warrs and the present incumbrances which now they groan under in the maintenance of their poor, they being very numerous, are become much less able than formerly to make reparation of their causeweys, and being sensible of your charity extended in all cases where your prudence doth discerne fitt objects, we are bold to make it our humble request that your worshipps, and the rather because upon the like necessity we have often tasted of your bounty, that you will lend us your assisting hand towards the reparation thereof, in such manner as you in

your grave wisdom shall think fitt, and in soe doing you will further oblige us to pray, &c.

"THO. HARRIS.	JOHN PRATT.	
WM. SOLLERS.	THO. PERKS.	Overseers of
RIC. HODGKINS.	JAS. WALKER.	the highways.
WM. OAKLEY.	WM. ONION.	Church-
JO. CARTWRIGHT.	ANTH. STANTON.	wardens.
ANTHONY SAVAGE.	JO. GEORGE."	
THO. HAMPTON.		

The dean and chapter were liable to repair these roads *ratione tenuræ*—that is, by reason of their being owners of certain lands. The passing of turnpike acts, appointment of boards of trustees, and payment of tolls throughout the country, removed the cause of such contentions by providing in a regular and competent manner for the repair of all such roads.

The next point which should not go unrecorded is the charities and benevolences of the chapter, which are usually ranged in the books under the head of "eleemosynæ distributæ," and take a very comprehensive range indeed. If the ancient priors and other members of the monastery were remarkable for their consideration and kindness to the poor both at home and when journeying abroad, as has been already shown, their successors the deans and chapters were by no means degenerate descendants in this respect. £40 yearly was given in alms, the poor receiving weekly *2d.* in money each, to the amount of 10*s.*, and the rest was bestowed on their poor tenants and in other ways, as witness the following samples of their almsgiving, chronologically arranged:—

"1611. To one Grafton, a decayed man, that had been in gaol for debt, to help to pay his fees when he went forth, *2s. 2d.*"

"Given to the poore upon Good Friday as we came from the sermon, 3*s.* 4*d.*"

"Given to the poore from 20th July to 5th August, being the daye of the kinges deliverance, 5*s.*"

"To one who had his house and goods burned in Ireland by Mr. Deane's appointment (!) 2*s.* 6*d.*"

"Paid to travellers and other distressed and sick people, to a poor minister and lunatic, a poor scholar, to widows, two Grecians, the one a minister and the other layman."

"1661. Given a Scottish officer *nil!!*"

"1662. For redemption of Christian captives now at Argiers (Algiers), £300" (worth at least £2,000 of our present money!)

"1665. To travellers shipwrackt in their coming from Ireland, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

"To a friend lying on his death-bed, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

This year Dorothy Hunt petitioned for charity, as "being not only very anciente but alsoe much afflicted and especiallie tormented with two as sadd diseases as anie, the ptyssicke and ye spleene."

"1666. Three distressed Spaniards that had suffered shipwrack with the consent of Mr. Oley (!) 3*s.*"

"Given to the prisoners and other poor people by the chapter's orders as Mr. Oley knoweth, 5*s.*"

"To a young man that came from Barbadoes, 1*s.*"

"To the sufferers by the great fire of London, £60."

"1668, Oct. 3. Given to ye pore men yt were hurt in labouring to quench the fire in Worcester, Sep. 24, £2."

"Given to prisoners in ye castle—to the prisoners in ye towne gaole—to a maimed soldier having but one leg—to a distressed gentleman who had lost his estate by fire—to a broke-bellied man—to ye poore in ye church—to two distressed men turned out of ye Turkish slavary—to a pore traveller whose wife was brought to bed in ye way—to a distressed woman with six children, whose husband was cast away in the sea neere Bristoll" (all in various sums).

"1670, Nov. 27. The dean and chapter taking into consideration the sad and lamentable condition of the poor distressed Christians now held as captives under the most wretched and miserable slavery of the Turkish pirates in Argiers, do freely grant unto them their benevolence of £40 currant monye towards the raising of the sum of £30,000 imposed on them for their ransome by the said barbarous pirates."

"1671. The dean and chapter gave £20 to the enlargement of Mr. Miles Rainsford, now in the townhall prison, that he may perform his service in the church, provided that his relations will add so much thereunto as may set him at liberty."

"1675. To Captain Digby, a distressed royalist and a gent. burnt out, at Southwark."

"To Jacobus, a Jew, 10*s.*"

"To a Caldean minister, £2."

"1678. To Mr. Jerome Hogan, an Irish convert, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

The sum of £120, in yearly instalments, was voted towards rebuilding St. Paul's cathedral.

"1683. Upon recommendation of the archbishop of Canterbury £16 was given towards the relief and maintenance of the French ministers driven out of their country for the sake of their religion."

"1685. Given convert Jew, Jo. Alexander, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

"A pore man whose leg was cut off, 1*s.*"

"To blind Mary, 5*s.*"

"1689. For maintenance of a poor woman at her lying down, 5*s.* Her keeper for a month, 12*s.* For diet, 5*s.* 6*d.* Twelve weeks' nursing, £1. 4*s.* Clothes for ye child, 4*s.* 6*d.* For coffin and funeral charge, 7*s.* 6*d.*"

"1691. Given to the sufferers by the late fire in the township of Shipston, £20."

"1697. To Humfry Scot for the loss of his boat, 2*s.* 6*d.*"

"To the poor parishioners at proclaiming the peace, 5*s.*"

"Towards the cure of Pit's eyes, 5*s.*"

"1700. Paid Mr. Meredith for redemption of captives from Machaness in Barbary, £17. 10*s*. 6*d*."

"1708. Given Mr. Dunbar, a blind Scotch clergyman, on his way to Bath for cure, 10*s*."

"1711. To Wm. Green for the loss of his cow, 10*s*."

"1745. That the £150 subscribed by the dean and chapter for the use of his Majesty King George, occasioned by the present unnatural rebellion, be augmented to £200 if occasion."

"That 20 guineas be paid by the receiver for the use of the present infirmary" (first opened in Silver-street in that year).

"Ye expense of setting up an infirmary, £21."

"To a reader at Worcester infirmary, £6. 6*s*."

"1757. Ordered to pay five guineas towards making the springs of Malvern commodious." (Was this for building St. Ann's Well-house there?)

"1759. That £5 be paid to the churchwardens and paymasters of the parish of Shipston, to make up the deficiency of their subscription for raising a sum to defray the expense of innoculating the poorer sort of persons in the town there, according to their petition."

"1770. Twelve guineas given to the many sufferers by the very great flood that has been in the river Severn, whereby the poor inhabitants of St. Clement's have been greatly distressed," and subsequently another twelve guineas given.

"1776. £50 to distressed clergy in America."

"1780. Twelve guineas to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

"1781. Forty-six groat loaves were given weekly at the college this year; but subsequently ordered that the bread should be given to such persons only as had gained a legal settlement in the city or suburbs."

"1782. Twelve guineas to the sufferers by the late fire at Shipston."

"1788. Ordered that an answer be written to the dean and chapter of Hereford that their request respecting a subscription to the repairs of that cathedral, informing them that the dean and chapter of Worcester have some very heavy

repairs of their own cathedral now under estimate, and that they are engaged in two lawsuits in support of the statutes of the church, and till these are ended they do not know how far it will be in their power to give them assistance. The further consideration of this business is deferred till the next November audit."

"1789. Ordered, that the treasurer do pay £50 as the dean and chapter's subscription towards rebuilding that part of the cathedral church of Hereford which was destroyed by the falling of the great western tower."

"That £1. 7*s*. 6*d*. be paid to Thos. Morgan, glover, being the deficiency of the subscription towards the board of Robert Nott, chorister, for two years, and for instructing him in the business of gloving."

"1792. That the sum of £30 be subscribed towards the relief of the French clergy now in England, and paid out of the domus fund."

The cathedral ringers must here come in for a passing notice. There is no proof in the monastic records of the monks themselves indulging in bell-ringing beyond the requirements of the daily service, but the "clangers" or ringers of the city were frequently rewarded either for operating on the bells in the leaden steeple or on those of their own parish churches. At a later period the bells were always rung at the return home of the bishop or dean, on the arrival of judges of assize, on saints' days and holidays, on the 5th of November, or on the reception of any satisfactory political news. Thus: —

"1611, Aug. 5. To the sexton for the ringers, being the day of the king's deliverance from the Earle Gowrye, and making a bonefire, 10*s*."

In 1665 they rang "for joy that the king was preserved and for the victory over the Dutch." On Nov. 12, 1678, 5*s*. was spent on the ringers "for joy at ye king's speech to ye parliament;" in 1685,

"for ringing when ye city charter came down;" and "at ye news of ye victory over ye western rebels, and at Munmouth's being taken." In 1687 they rang when James II. came to Worcester; but when the Prince of Orange rid the nation of that wretched monarch there is no account of any ringing, but simply "a bonefire," and the initials "K. W." appear on the books as an abridgment of King William, as though the scribe was afraid of committing himself by a too early recognition of the future king. Lastly, I may give, as an average specimen of the ringers' duties in the year, the entries for 1717:—

"Jan. 22, news of H.M. landing from Hanover; Mar. 1, princess's birthday; April 8, judges' entry; May 28, king's birthday; 29th, restoration of Charles 2nd; Aug. 1, king's accession to the throne; 24th, Prince Eugene's victory over the Turks; 26th, judges' entry; Oct. 20, king's coronation; 29th, prince's birthday; Nov. 5, double deliverance; 6th, news of princesses being delivered of a son; Dec. 17, ringing great bell every day from Bishop Lloyd's death till he was buried."

The introduction of water pumps in the seventeenth century is thus recorded:—

"1635. It is also agreed yt in regard we are not yet able to be at so great an expense as to mende ye water worke, yt ther shalbe one plumpe set up betweene Mr. Deane and Mr. Charlett's for their use, one other betweene Mr. Charlett's and Dr. Fell's, another between Dr. Giles and Dr. White, &c.; and those who have already set up plumpes shalbe allowed from ye church 50s. a peece."

In 1671—

"Ordered, that the treasurer shall buy 20 buckets and a spout, to be ready in any exigency of fire."

There was a fire-engine in Worcester before 1641, and it appears that at a later period the dean and

chapter kept one of their own. In 1790 it was ordered—

"That at the expiration of the year for which the deanery and prebendal houses are insured in the Sun Fire Office, London, the treasurer do renew such insurance into the Worcester Sun Fire Office, lately established."

By a later entry it appears that the sum insured for was £5,000 for the cathedral and chapter-house, and an additional £3,000 for the deanery and prebendal houses. The London Sun Fire Office was established in 1710, but of its Worcester rival I know nothing either as to its birth or term of duration. In 1685 we have the following entry:—

"For hearth money for ye library and music room chimney, 5*s.*"

This was the tax of 2*s.* per annum for every chimney, which, like the window tax of a later period, occasioned such discontent as to lead to its repeal. Chimney-money, or the hearth-tax, has received many illustrations in our ballad literature. Here is an instance:—

"The good old dames, whenever they the chimney man espied,
Unto their nooks they haste away, their pots and pipkins hide.
There is not one old dame in ten, and search the nation through,
That if you talk of chimney men, will spare a curse or two."

The parliament agreed in 1666 that any one might buy off this tax for ever at eight years' purchase, and so it soon came to an end. In 1666 the sum of £1. 2*s.* 6*d.* was given "for a brass stampe for ye college armes," and 7*d.* for an hour glass. In the excessive preaching times of the commonwealth hour glasses were affixed to pulpits, and they seem to have been used by the lecturers at the cathedral long after the restoration. Towards the close of

the century bad coin was in general circulation, and memoranda like the following frequently occur:—

"Took a Scotch crowne of Dr. Hopkins at 5*s.* and lost thereby 6*d.*"

"Returned a brass shilling to ye receiver."

"Lost by a moidore 17*s.*"

"Lost by two 36*s.* pieces £1. 6*s.*"

The curious items of the last few pages would alone form material for a lengthened chapter on the subjects of national and local history, customs, and peculiarities, but having already exceeded my proposed limits, and as the aforesaid subjects are not immediately connected with that to which this work is primarily devoted, I must leave them as they are and hasten to the close.

After the stirring and eventful character of the seventeenth century, when men were so terribly in earnest for their creeds, whether religious or political, it is somewhat distressing to contemplate the mental darkness, lack of discipline, and wretched taste, which prevailed throughout the century that followed, and which may with a good show of reason be styled the darkest of our ages. Party feeling, both religious and political, prevailed exceedingly during the reigns of William and Queen Anne, and that Worcester was not exempt from the influences pervading the nation at large may be proved from the lampoons and doggrel verses at that time pretty generally circulated here. The bishop, the dean and chapter, their wives and families, the cathedral congregations, and even "Dick Cherington the organist," were all defamed both in prose and verse, especially by a Jacobite scribbler of Worcester, whose writings are still extant in MS. and in the

possession of Sir Edmund Lechmere, to whom I am indebted for the loan of them. Some extracts may be admitted here, as bearing on the history of church matters in Worcester at that period. And first in order of date are the following lampoons on the dean and chapter, somewhere between the years 1700 and 1705:—

"1. Wether the bishop of Oxford* or his lady be dean of Worcester? 2. Wether Mr. Galloway is not a better bowler than a preacher and whether he'll sware to all his transmarine storys? 3. Wether Dr. Lawton be good for anything out of the lybrary? 4. Wether Dr. Sheikes (Sykes) owes his sanguin complection to coffee or clarett? 5. Wether James Stillingfleet tho a prebend be not outdone in the faculty of laughing by Mr. Merrideath tho' a minor cannon? 6. Wether Dr. Cartwright be a greater gainer by his father the bishop of Chester or his father the Lord Leicester? 7. Wether Sr. William Daws† be more famous for being a knight barronet, divine, or a fine preacher? 8. Wether Dr. Wall be an old man or an old woman, haveing formerly been seen with a red stocking and a black one? 9. Wether Dr. Battle be not fitter to make a factor for Alderman Haines than a prebend for the citty of Worcester? 10. Wether Sanby be not of the nature of a monkey, his whole delight being in antick actions and mischief? 11. Wether Dr. Stapleton be not the fittest of the ten for the place he is in?"

Dr. Jephcot, then prebend of the eighth stall, is omitted from the above list, and Mr. Sanby introduced, who, according to Green's list, was the successor of Dr. Cartwright in the ninth stall.

Poor Bishop Lloyd received his full share of abuse, and especially was this the case when his lordship forbad the bells to be rung at Dr. Sacheverell's entrance into Worcester. The Whig go-

* Dean Talbot, in 1699, being advanced to the bishopric of Oxford, had leave to hold the deanery of Worcester in commendam; but resigned the latter in 1715.

† Afterwards Archbishop of York.

vernment and the House of Lords had silenced the doctor from preaching for three years, owing to his predilection for the divine right of kings and his general Jacobite views. He then set out to take possession of a living in Shropshire, and it was probably on this occasion that he passed through Worcester. The doggrel on the bishop runs thus:—

> "No church, no tower, or steeple,
> Was from his wrath defended:
> The bells high and low,
> Ab officio,
> Were doubly now suspended."

And in a note the poet adds that the clappers of the bells in Worcester were "dressed in black crape to be presented to the bishop, but taken off again by some gentlemen who did not like the violent proceedings of either party;" also that "people were put into ye churches where the clappers were out, to beat on the bells with hammers." And the conclusion arrived at by the lampooner is on this wise:—

> "Yet bellfreys, spite of party,
> And to the Whigs' confusion,
> Will soon, we have hopes,
> Find clappers and ropes
> To ring at the dissolution."

Our poet, who was a sad defamer of character, satirises the ladies who at that time attended the cathedral services—

> "Who plainly show by all their actions
> They mind not prayer but men's transactions."

Nor is he more indulgent to his own sex, declaring that after divine service

"The men in haste to th' club-room trott,
To smoke a pipe and drink a pott.
Good wine, poor soules, is so above 'em,
Their stingienes won't that allow 'em;
Tobacco's cheap and so is beer,
But wine, you know, is very dear."

While the episcopal chair of Worcester was occupied by a succession of good and distinguished men (Lloyd, one of the "seven champions" shut up in the Tower by King James; Hough, the patriot and the Christian;* Madox, the defender of the reformation and the father of Worcester infirmary; Johnson, the beloved of his sovereign and the liberal improver of his episcopal palace and the patronage of the see; North, the great promoter of the triennial musical festivals; and Hurd, notable for learning and the library he bequeathed to Hartlebury), the history of the gentlemen who held the distinguished office of dean throughout the eighteenth century is scarcely less notable than that of the contemporary bishops. Dr. Hare, who had been chaplain to the army in Flanders under the Duke of Marlborough, was installed dean in 1715; his predecessor, Dean Talbot, having resigned on accepting the see of Salisbury. Dr. Hare was author of an edition of the Hebrew psalms, a work on "The difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the Scriptures," and other works. On his being raised to the deanery of St. Paul's he was succeeded here in 1726 by Dr. Jas. Stillingfleet, son of the late learned bishop, and whose exemplary character endeared him to both clergy and laity. Dr. E. Martin, canon of Windsor,

* In 1784, Thos. Bund, Esq., presented to the dean and chapter a portrait of Bishop Hough, which was set up in their library. What has become of this?

held this deanery for the brief period of four years only, namely, from 1747 to 1751; he was much noted for learning, wit, and humour; and was followed by John Waugh, son of the bishop of Carlisle, who was well versed in civil and common law, and is said to have assisted Dr. Burn in the publication of his "Justice." During the siege of Carlisle, in 1745, Dr. Waugh was eminently useful to the king's forces, on which account he was preferred to the deanery of Worcester. Sir R. Wrottesley, Bart., succeeded him in 1765. He had been an M.P. with a place at the Board of Green Cloth. He entered into holy orders late in life, and at his death in 1769 Wm. Digby was installed, on whose promotion to the deanery of Durham in 1778, Robert Foley, brother of Lord Foley, was appointed. He was a distinguished scholar and a good man. It is recorded of him, however, as a grave blemish, that in his time the custom was first abolished of inviting the members of the corporation to the audit dinner. He died in 1783, and was followed by Dr. St. Andrew St. John, brother to the then Countess of Coventry, and second son of the tenth Lord St. John of Bletsoe. He was distinguished for liberal hospitality, benevolence, unassuming manners, and constant attention to the duties of his high station. Lastly, Dr. Arthur Onslow, nephew of the Speaker of the House of Commons, was appointed to this deanery on the death of Dean St. John in 1795. He also held the vicarages of Kidderminster, Wolverley, Lindridge, and other preferments, and died at the vicarage house at Lindridge in 1817, and was buried in the cathedral crypt, being the first corpse deposited there in pursuance of the new regulation for interment.

The internal government of the establishment

during this century was of a similar kind to that already noticed. The episcopal visitation of 1705 appears to have been a very searching one; several absentees were rigorously fined; Richard Hall was admonished either to marry his servant or turn her away and "purge himself by creditable persons;" and a Mr. Taylor was required to read publicly the following recantation of his erroneous opinions:—

"I, Abdias Taylor, by reading several authors concerning the discipline of the church, was led into an opinion that there might be a perfect true church under various forms of government, if those forms were capable of obtaining the end of government. This opinion I now perceive to be false, for CHRIST has instituted one particular form, namely, in the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons, and has commanded us to observe it unto the world's end, Eph. iv. 11, and I Cor., xii. 28. Further, by considering that positive laws bind no farther than the intention of the lawgiver, I formerly thought that our church had given to all its ministers a power to give the blessed sacrament if they judged it highly convenient to persons sitting or standing, and also a power to baptise publicly without the sign of the cross if parents were scrupulous; but now I am sensible I was in an error, for since there is no declared limitation in the positive law that commands kneeling and the use of the cross in public baptism, we are not to suppose a limitation but are obliged to act as the law declares—that is, we are obliged to receive the blessed sacrament kneeling if we are able, and in no other posture, and to administer public baptism with the sign of the cross. Since my speaking publicly on behalf of the above said erroneous opinions has given offence I hereby declare that I am sincerely and heartily sorry; for the future I shall be more cautious and will endeavour to make amends for the injury I have done the church."

John Hodynott, a lay clerk, was in 1713 expelled for his loose, immoral, and profane life; in 1716, Francis Bromwich, one of the subsacrists, "appearing scandalously overcome with drink," was suspended for a week and admonished; and at

a later period one Jas. Radcliffe was admonished "to be more regular in his attendance in the choir and not to perform at the play-house without leave first obtained." The bishop also enjoined that instead of cravats the lay clerks should "wear falling bands, such as the ministers of the church do use, and that their apparel for the time to come be of a grave colour and agreeable to their office." Cunnington, one of the vergers, and Mason, one of the porters, for gross neglect, were deprived of their gowns for the year; while William Mence, a beadsman, was expelled altogether for notorious neglect of duty, insolent behaviour in chapter, and for his manifest contumely and contempt of three former admonitions. The six o'clock morning services on Sundays and holy days occasioned great discontent among the minor canons and singing men; in fact, soon after the restoration very unhappy animosities had existed with respect to the duty of reading the public morning service, to prevent which it was ordered that the minor canons should read it in turn. The following excellent reasons for dividing the morning service into two parts, according to the ancient custom, and which prevailed in Worcester cathedral till a few years ago, will be read with interest:—

"Reasons for the continuance of the service of GOD in the cathedral upon Sundaies in the same manner as it is at present and hath bin time out of mind, presented to the right rev. father in GOD James Lord Bishop of Worcester upon 12 daye July, 1676. 1. It hath bin accustomed to have the prayers read in this manner in time immemorial, as the most ancient man living amongst us can witness. 2. This custom hath bin grounded upon the necessary convenience of best serving the cathedral and the churches in the city, as also in consideration of aged and sickly persons who in summer time (much less in winter) are not able to continue or hold out so long time as the whole service at once, and the sermon, and sometimes the

time of the communion, wd require. 3. We have had former experience of the inconvenience of altering this course and of the general dissatisfaction taken by the citizens, who then forsook the prayers and came only to sermon. 4. The late Bishop Skinner did at his visitation p'vaile with the dean and chapter to alter it, but upon experience of the former inconvenience did acknowledge his inadvertency and desire it might be restored to its former course, which is that to which we hold at present. 5. We do conceive that this custom, which we now observe, is conforme to the rubricke and canons of the church, as first to the rubricke before the litany, wherein it is ordered that the litany be said or sung after morning prayers upon Sundays, &c., which words do intimate a space between morning prayer and the litany; second, the old rubrick before the communion doth necessarily imply that there should be a distance of time between the prayers and the communion service, and the new rubrick doth not direct otherwise; third, the thirteenth canon, 1603, as we conceive, confirms our present practice by enjoining that common prayer be said or sung at convenient and usual times and in such places as the bishop of the diocese or the ecclesiastical ordinary of the place shall appoint; fourth, because we conceive that the Act of Uniformity, prescribing the intire reading of common prayer, was designed in opposition to the non-conformists, who wd either omitt all or leave out what part they please, not to debarre the dividing it for the greater solemnity of GOD'S service and the better convenience of the comers thereto. Now it being certain that our practice is not forbidden by the said act, an ambiguity being supposed, custom ought to determine the thing; for that, where there is law, custom is the best interpreter; and, where there is no positive law, custom itself is a law. It hath bin a constant maxim of government that alterations should not be introduced without great and important causes, being apt to create disputes, censures, and animosities.

" WM. THOMAS, dean.
NATH. TOMKINS, sub-dean.
WM. THORNBURGH, treasurer.
THO. LAMPLUGH.
BARNABAS OLEY.
WM. HOPKINS."

Various alterations were made in the time of service in the last century, but in 1763 a return to the old custom was made:—

"It having been represented to Mr. Dean that the alteration made in the time of prayers on Sundays in the forenoon is attended with several inconveniences to the members of the church, and that the ancient manner of performing divine service on Sundays was found more convenient not only to the members but also to the inhabitants of the city of Worcester, who resort to their parish churches before they attend the sermon at the cathedral, Mr. Dean did this day advise with the chapter upon the same, who on mature deliberation being unanimously of opinion that the performing divine service on Sundays in the forenoon at two different times, namely, the first service at seven o'clock and the second at eleven, as had (till the last alteration made in the choir) been the accustomed manner of performing the services on Sundays, was much more convenient both to the inhabitants of the city and the members of the church, Mr. Dean does hereby order that for the future, instead of early prayers, surplice prayers be performed in the choir every Sunday forenoon at seven o'clock (and eight in winter), and that one minor canon, the organist, lay clerks, choristers, and king's scholars, do attend the same, at which hour the whole service is to be performed except litany and communion service; and that the sermon bell begin at half-past ten o'clock and cease at eleven, when the whole choir are to attend (except such minor canons as are excused on account of their duty at their several cures). The service is to begin at the litany, and the chapter clerk is to give a copy of this order to be put up in the vestry, that all the members of the choir may have notice of it.

"JOHN WAUGH, dean."

The work done during the eighteenth century in the way of cathedral restoration and repair will be found in the chapter devoted to that subject, and the remaining historical notices for that period are but fragmentary, and must be arranged in no other than a chronological one:—

"1701, Jan. 9. Ordered that a letter be sent to Mr. Lambert to discharge ye two Quakers in Lancaster gaol at ye suit of ye dean and chapter of this church."

This was at a period when the Quakers were undergoing great persecution on the score of church

rates, recasting of bells, repair of "steeple houses," &c., and were using every effort in their power to influence the local M.P.s in favour of toleration.

In 1711 the bishop issued an inhibition to the effect that "since the high sheriff of the county hath not been pleased to ask the bishop leave for a clergyman to preach the assize sermon some reasonable time before that office is to be performed, we command that no other clergyman be permitted to occupy the cathedral pulpit at assize time but Mr. Rd. Smith, rector of Upton."

"1730. The vestry of Putney parish, in Surrey, complain to the dean and chapter that the roof of the chancel of their church is ruinous, the wet coming in and likely to fall on the heads of the congregation. Application has been made to Mr. Green, steward to the Dutchess Dowager of Marlbro, your lessee, and very fair promises were made but nothing done, therefore request you to look into the lease, that it may appear whether her grace is not thereby obliged to repair ye said chancel, and whether upon neglect thereof there is not a clause of reentry, and if so you will please to order an ejectment, so that the chancel may be repaired."

This is quite in character with her grace's antecedents.

In 1741 the dean and chapter gave liberty to Thos. Alcock to erect a weir in the Avon, abutting upon the dean and chapter's lands at Cropthorne.

"1770. Whereas the proprietors of the Droitwich canal navigation have by the authority of an act of parliament taken a piece of meadow from Bevery manor or farm, and the proprietors of the Staffordshire and Worcestershire navigation have also taken a piece of meadow from the rectory glebe in Wolverley, ordered that the share of money arising from the purchase of the said lands and belonging to the dean and chapter be applied toward the expense of building a gallery in the college hall for the better accommodation of the music meeting of the three choirs of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford."

In 1781 a charge was made "for taking the body of Samuel Penn to justice and conveying him to prison, he having wanted to shoot the preacher!"

"1786. Ordered that from Michaelmas day the new window tax called the commutation tax be paid by the treasurer."

In 1790 the dean and chapter voted fifteen guineas to Valentine Green towards the expense of engraving plates for his intended history of Worcester. Two years later a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Green (then of Newman-street, London), for his valuable present of a picture—the "Descent from the Cross"—fixed at his expense behind the altar of the cathedral. It had been painted by Mr. T. Phillips, after Rubens's original at Antwerp. What could have happened nine years after this to induce Mr. Green to ask for the return of the picture is not known, but probably the work of restoration going on at the cathedral about that time was thought to require its removal, and hence an order appears on the books for its return to Mr. Green free of expense to him.

The political and social agitation of Europe towards the close of the century evidently engrossed a large share of the attention of the dean and chapter. In 1793 they subscribed £20 "towards supplying the British troops in Flanders with flannel waistcoats, or such other wearing apparel as the committee at the Crown and Anchor tavern shall judge best for their benefit, and that the sum be paid out of the domus fund." The progress of the great French revolution suggested the following action from time to time:—

"1794, Ap. 23. £100 subscribed out of the domus fund at the meeting advertised by the high sheriff of the county to

be held on the 29th instant at the town-hall in Worcester in support of a plan for the internal protection and security of the country at this crisis, and for the general welfare of this kingdom."

"1797, Nov. Twenty guineas paid as a subscription towards the relief of the widows and orphans of the seamen who fell in the late engagement with the Dutch fleet, when the same was defeated by the fleet under the command of the admirals Lord Duncan and Sir Rd. Onslow."

"1798, Feb. £300 paid into the Bank of England as a voluntary contribution to government from the dean and prebends towards the exigencies of the state." In May: "Whereas it appears that there are not within the precincts of the cathedral any housekeepers who can personally associate for the purpose of defending the country at this important crisis, in lieu thereof it is ordered that any sum not exceeding £50 (in case any pecuniary fund should be raised for the defence of the city and suburbs) shall be paid by the treasurer into the old bank for the use of the said fund whenever occasion shall require." Nov. 23: "£20 to the relief of the widows and orphans of the sailors who fell in the late engagement under Lord Nelson."

"1799, Nov. £20 for the widows, wives, and children of British soldiers killed, wounded, or diseased, in the late expedition to Holland."

"1801. £10 to widows and orphans of the seamen who fell in the engagement at Copenhagen."

"1803, Aug. 19. Ordered that £100 shall be given by the dean and chapter to the subscription set on foot in the county of Worcester for the clothing and accoutring of such loyal volunteers as shall stand in need of assistance, and £50 to the subscription entered into in the city of Worcester for the same purpose." Sep. 26: "Ordered that Edwd. Jeal, sexton, do continue his payments to the drummer of the volunteers of the college precincts and St. Michael's till further orders." Nov.: "Five guineas given to Sergeant Wheeler for training and exercising the men within the college precincts, and six guineas paid to the parish of St. Michael as a gift on account of a balloted man for the army of reserve in the college precincts, no payment of the kind to be allowed in future."

"1804. An act of parliament having passed for raising men in the respective parishes of this kingdom, and the said act having directed all extra-parochial places (where no officers are appointed, such as constables, overseers, &c.), to be united to another parish for the said purpose, and the deputy lieutenants having united the college precincts to the parish of St. Michael, ordered that the fine to be levied on the precincts for their proportion of the expense be paid for the present out of the domus fund."

"1805. That the dean and resident members of the chapter be empowered to subscribe at their discretion to the fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of the men who fell at the battle of Trafalgar, whenever there shall be a general subscription for that purpose."

The following disjointed memoranda also traverse the period just gone over:—

"1800. The dean and chapter having taken into serious consideration the duty of encouraging frequent attendance on the sacrament of the LORD'S Supper, ordered, that a certain number of treatises be distributed within the precincts of the cathedral and the several parishes in the city and suburbs of Worcester of which the dean and chapter are portions, and that the members of the chapter who are also members of the Socy. for Promoting Christian Knowledge be desired to use their endeavours towards this purpose."

"1801. Twenty guineas ordered to be paid to the committee of clergymen appointed in the city of Worcester for the purpose of instituting a general Sunday school for poor children within the city and suburbs of Worcester."

"1807. Twenty guineas to the subscription for casing St. Andrew's spire."

"1810. Two guineas to the Socy. for Promoting Christian Knowledge upon a committee being formed in this diocese according to the resolution of the society this day produced by the dean. The first meeting of a society to be established in this diocese to cooperate with the above society was held in the audit room. £30 also voted to the Orphan Clergy Society."

"1812. Ten guineas to the establishment of a school on Dr. Bell's plan; 30 guineas annually to be subscribed to that establishment."

The list of deans from Dr. A. Onslow to the present time is as follows:—

Nov. 28, 1817, John Banks Jenkinson, D.D., afterwards bishop of St. David's.

Aug. 12, 1825, Jas. Hook, LL.D.

April 12, 1828, Dr. G. Murray, afterwards bishop of Rochester.

Dec. 9, 1845, Dr. John Peel, brother of the late Sir Robert Peel.

The present canons are—

Rev. Christopher Benson.

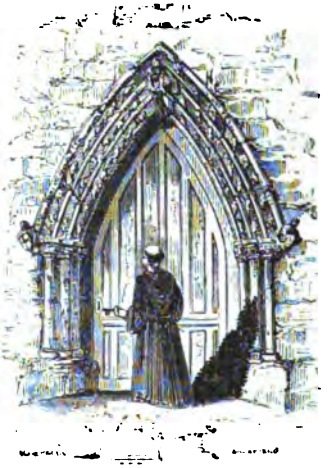
Hon. and Rev. J. Fortescue.

Rev. J. Ryle Wood.

Rev. Sir Gilbert Lewis, Bart.

I do not propose to go into the history of the cathedral for the present century, but merely to indicate the three great incidents by which it has been distinguished, namely, the reduction of the number of the chapter, the assignment of their possessions to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the very extensive and costly restoration of the fabric of the cathedral. The last-named subject has been adverted to in the chapter devoted to the building. The reduction of the chapter was effected by the Act of 3 and 4 Victoria, c. 113, whereby a dean and four canons only now constitute the capitular body, six canonries having been suppressed under the act. In November, 1859, the estates of the dean and chapter, except the cathedral meadows and certain houses in the precincts, were transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the authority of their acts, in consideration of a money payment of £9,000 a year and £15,000 to be applied

to the restoration of the cathedral. Of this £9,000, £4,600 to be divided between the dean and canons, and the remaining £4,400 to the other salaries and expenses of the church, including £800 to be set aside yearly for the repair of the cathedral.



Errata and Additions.

Page 4. The date in the bottom line should be 964, instead of 664.

Page 16. St. Oswald had the reputation of saving ships from foundering at sea. He confined demons with the sign of the cross. The poor were cherished by him, and he always kept twelve of them in his hall, whom he fed and whose feet he washed. He foretold his own death the day before it took place. Eleven years after his death his vestments were found uninjured and redolent with a fragrant smell. That his relics were a defence against pestilence, when "in Worcester province many died suddenly when standing or walking, was openly seen by many of the city and from neighbouring villages who flocked in for the purpose."

Page 22. As to the distinction between episcopal and monastic lands, Tanner in his "Notitia" says that in Saxon times donations were made to the church as one in common, but after the conquest the bishops assigned to convents what they thought sufficient to maintain them and reserved the rest to themselves and successors, and this division fell hard upon the monks in many places.

Page 84. A previous decision of the archbishop of Canterbury, in 1268, as to the right of the prior to act episcopally *sede vacante* will be found in page 240.

Page 145: Grimley manor-house. The present house is a cross-timbered building, of poor construction; it is still called The Palace. The large gardens are enclosed within ancient walls, and there are remains of fish-pools.

Page 155.—Since Mr. Lees' account of Battenhall was printed I myself visited the spot, and find that it should have been described as Middle (not Lower) Battenhall. The site of the ancient manor-house is a most interesting and I think perfect remain, the mound being a circular elevation, quite flat at top, but with no ruins above ground. It is now planted as an orchard and is called "The Abbey." The moat is complete as also the depressions where the fish-pools once existed, and on a higher plateau the outline and terraced walks of the garden may likewise plainly be seen.

Page 206: Crowle manor-house. The moat has been partly filled up, but is yet distinctly visible; and outside the moat is a large quadrangle, now planted as an orchard, enclosed with raised terraced walks formed of the earth taken from the moat when first excavated under the directions of Prior Moore. These were the gardens, now called The Court Orchard. Although the register goes back to 1539 there is no account whatever in it of the burial of the ex-prior, but then there are whole years in which the entries appear to have been altogether omitted, and the present register of that date is but a copy of an older one.

Page 254. The "holy loaf," it seems (see *Origines Liturgicæ*), was not the bread from which the host was taken; it was blessed, not consecrated, and was distributed to *all* the people. This was adopted by the church at a time when the number of communicants had much fallen off, and was done to preserve a semblance of former unity.

Page 296, line 7, for "an old writer of the last century," read "Nash."

Page 314. The altars of St. Nicholas and St. Thomas are said to have been in the choir transept.

Page 337, second line of inscription on old font was perhaps originally "quique" instead of "quicunque," or the verse would not scan. The last two lines of the inscription are elegant Latin.

Pages 352, 364, 413. Since these pages were printed, it has been decided, I hear, that the library shall be removed to the triforium over the south aisle of the nave of the cathedral, and the registers, monastic rolls, &c., will either remain there or be deposited in Edgar Tower.

Page 385. The charnel-house: During the recent excavations for the purpose of lowering the approaches to the north porch of the cathedral the arched vaulting of the charnel-house was partially destroyed and the great vault filled up with the earth from the excavations. There were two stacks of bones the whole length of the vault, which were piled up in order nine feet high, and a central walk between them; and great numbers of skulls were heaped up on each stack of bones. No disturbance of these remains was allowed beyond the filling up with earth, yet the destruction of this relic is to be regretted. There were four bays of massive ribbed vaulting, and a window in each bay, showing that the original level of the ground externally was nearly the same as that to which it is now lowered.

Page 395. Lord Somers is said to have received the first part of his education at Worcester Cathedral School. In a MS. in the possession of Sir Edmund Lechmere is a virulent Jacobite squib written by apparently a Worcester man about the year 1700, or at the time when the Tories were making great efforts to impeach Lord Somers and drive him from King William's counsels. The writer attempts to degrade the Lord Keeper by a sneer at his pedigree; but from the careless use of the personal pronoun "his" it is not very clear whether it was his father or some more distant ancestor who was said to have been a brickmaker. The verses are as follows:—

"If you'll lend yr attention I'll sing you a song
Which is very true and not very long,
Of building a Sommer-house stately and strong,
Which nobody can deny.

"A brickmaker's son in Oliver's days,
One Sommers by name, to his mighty praise
By turning a rebell his fortune did raise,
Which, &c.

"His father had taught him to read and write pretty,
And a trooper he was about Worcester city,
Where he was made clerk to a famous committee.
Which, &c.

"When delinquents' estates were seized and sold
He grew rich apace as I have been tould,
For he laid up great store of other men's gould.
Which, &c.

"His father (good man) with mortar and brick
Had laid a foundation, but he did not stick
To build his house up by serving old Nick.
Which, &c.

" His satanicall zeall at Stoke* it was such
That he shott at the parson; you'll think this too much,
But he loved the old cause as his son loves ye Dutch.
Which, &c.

" And this is in short the true pedigree
Of P. O.'s† lord keeper, who is greater than hee,
That did love and serve his Highnes O. P.
Which, &c.

" Sly Tillottson thought that place he did merit
Because he did feircely the Jacobites fferret,
And his father's virtues all dos inherit.
Which, &c.

" When William's attorney,‡ it then did appear
That neither the king nor his friends he did spare,
But used them as Sommers did the cavalier.
Which, &c.

" Therefore I advise you all to take heed
Of him, and all such as are of that breed,
For so long as he lives his father's not dead.
Which, &c.

" For tho he seem patient, gentle, and mild,
The world he deceives, for he's wicked and wild,
And his mother still says he's his father's nown child.
Which, &c.

" The sneering old clerk§ did loyall men bring
To gibbetts and jayles as well as the king,
And his son at this time dos the very same thing.
Which, &c.

" The father 'tis known did monarchy hate;
The son by a vote did the king abdicate,‖
And now rides about in one of his coaches of state.
Which, &c.

[The rest of the verses, which are written in very coarse language, accuse him of adultery, theft, and other immoralities.]

* " He beset ye church with troopers and enter'd it himself and shot at Mr. Wybrough (who at ye time officiated there) before the service was done."

† Means probably Prince of Orange.

‡ When Somers was attorney-general to King William.

§ See verse 3rd.

‖ Somers was returned as one of the representatives for Worcester to the Convention which met in January, 1689; and he took a distinguished part in the debates which terminated in the adoption by Parliament of the resolution that the king had abdicated.

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